ecember 1974 - January 1975

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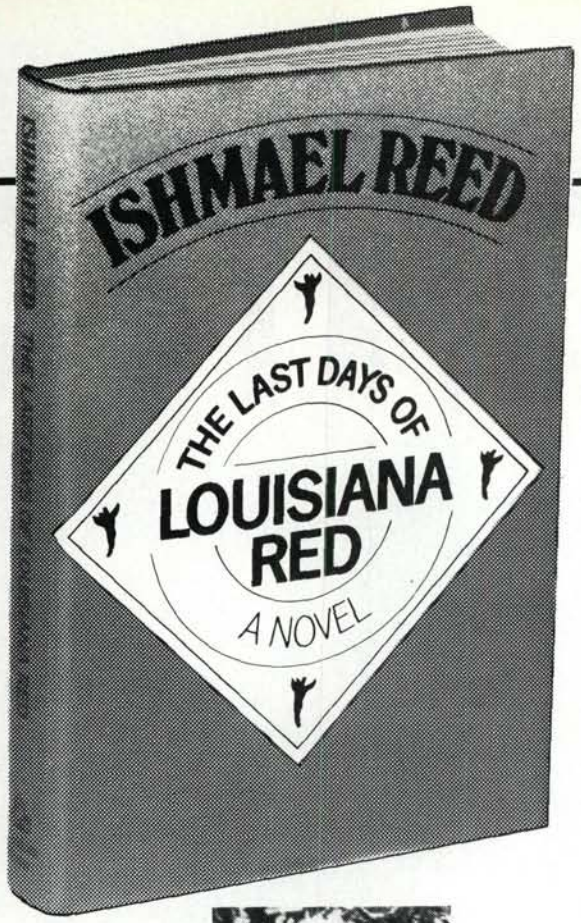

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Harry Boyte
"Prospectus for a New Party"
in *THE PROGRESSIVE*

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"The System Impeached"
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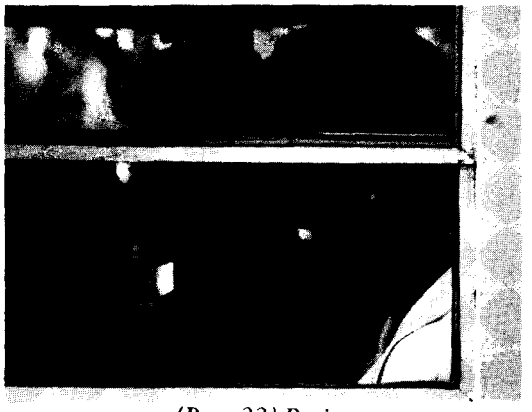

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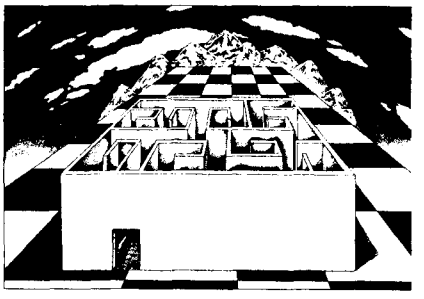

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Ramparts

Volume 13, No. 5 December 1974-January 1975

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David Kolodney
Patricia Shell
Peter Stone

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Merrill Shindler

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Mario Santilli
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ASSOCIATE EDITORS
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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
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Michael P. Lerner
Terence McCarthy
James Ridgeway
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Norman Eisner—Publishing Consultant

ADVERTISING
Peter Stone — Director
Donald G. Dickey Company—National Rep.
681 Market St.
San Francisco, California 94105
(415) 777-2465

EDITORIAL ROOMS AND MAIN BUSINESS OFFICE
2749 Hyde Street
San Francisco, California 94109
Telephone: (415) 885-0900

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RAMPARTS is published monthly by Noah's Ark, Inc. Printed in the U.S.A. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco, California and at additional offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and Alternative Press Index. Microfilm back volumes available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $11.00, one year; $21.00, two years; $30.00, three years in U. S. A. Foreign rate: $13.00, one year; $22.00, two years. Airmail rate: U. S. A., Mexico, Canada, $18.50 per year; Europe, South and Central America, $22.50 per year; rest of world, $27.50 per year. Single issue $1.00. Inquire for prices of back issues and bulk orders. SUBSCRIPTION CORRESPONDENCE: Send both new and old address (enclose recent magazine address label, if possible). Please allow six weeks for new orders and address changes. Request for missing issues older than two months from current date will be honored only when accompanied by payment. MANUSCRIPTS: Include a stamped, self-addressed envelope. RAMPARTS editors assume no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

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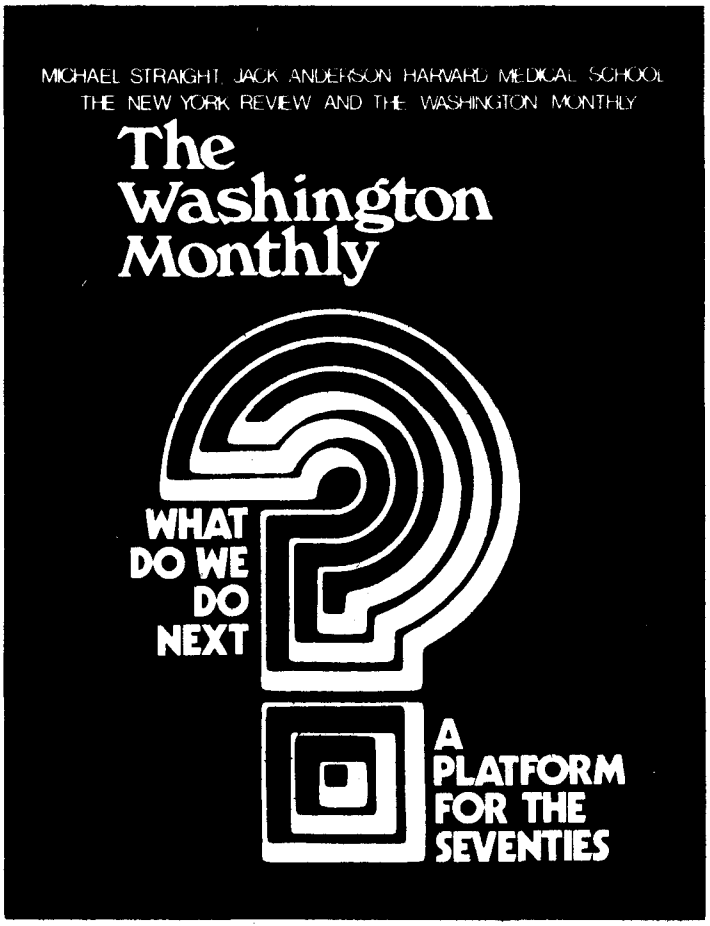
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Letters

[ABOUT THIS ISSUE]

You may be wondering why the December and January RAMPARTS have been combined into this expanded issue. For many months we have waited for the crescendo of world and national crises to abate – which would have made the timing of a deadline respite especially appropriate. But after every Nixon comes a Ford. So, since there seems so little chance of finding a gap in the "present shock" that everyone must feel, we are taking our holiday during the Holidays instead.

In the meantime, we hope that you may find some rest and even joy this season, and some sustenance for the challenging year that lies ahead.

The Staff

P.S. All subscriptions will be extended by one month.

[PASSION OF THE JEWS]

Editors:

Now, when somebody asks me for the 300th time, "Whatever became of *Ramparts*?" I can say, "Read the October issue –Horowitz's piece on Zionism. THAT's what happened!" It was excellent.

Fred Mitchell
San Francisco, Calif.

Editors:

Like many others on the Left, I have been plagued by the subtle and frequently seemingly contradictory moral implications of the questions of the plight of world Jewry, the nature of the conflicts between the Arab States and Israel, the plight of the Palestinians, and the nature and significance of the burgeoning militant conservatism among American Jews. David Horowitz' "The Passion of Jews" is the finest and the most intellectually, morally and passionately insightful analysis of these subtleties and apparent contradictions that I have yet read. I am most pleased that he has rejoined *Ramparts*. He is undoubtedly one of the most significant writers on the Left today.

E.K. Hunt
Riverside, Calif.

Editors:

David Horowitz errs when he claims that the traditional Jewish yearning for Jerusalem was only spiritual and universal. Traditional Judaism has always believed that the spiritual redemption of mankind will be preceded by a physical return of the Jews to the land. The Talmud and the writings of most Rabbis for two thousand years are very clear on this point. When most Jews prayed for a return to Jerusalem, they meant a physical return to the land of Israel.

Nineteenth century Reform Judaism broke with this notion and excluded this national idea from their theology and prayerbooks. To the traditional Jews of Eastern Europe and North Africa, this was a betrayal of the Ancient Jewish vision of redemption, for Judaism unites the physical with the spiritual and the particular with the universal. While Martin Buber criticized secular Zionists for wanting to make Israel a nation like all other nations, he also criticized Reform Jews who refused to recognize the national aspects of God's covenant with Israel. Buber considered himself a spiritual Zionist who believed that the Jews must physically return to the land in order to fulfill their spiritual mission for the world.

Jeff Oboler
New York, N.Y.

[GIVING BIRTH]

Editors:

I enjoyed your September issue devoted to "Childbirth in America." Several of the articles painted a most realistic picture of the population problem.

However, I think that not enough was said about the various effects that childbirth and parenthood have on those people who choose to become parents and their reasons for doing so. Perhaps a follow-up issue could examine the realities of parenthood and introduce the idea of non-parenthood as a way of life that is gradually but slowly becoming a very acceptable way of life.

Mrs. Lesli Lapham
Houston, Texas

Editors Note

Articles on parenthood and non-parenthood are in the planning stages.

[BLACKS FOR WALLACE]

Editors:

I suppose it was too much of me to expect Charles Fulwood to give more than a narrow-alley view to the black support of Alabama's George Wallace (*Ramparts*, November 1974). What Fulwood, John Lewis, and C. G. Gomillion appear to expect is a solid black block of votes every time a ballot is taken. This sad logic has dominated black politics since reconstruction and has repeatedly failed to improve the overall situation of black citizens. The idea of a "Voter Education Project" inherently suggests a constituency that cannot think for itself. The project neglects to realize that a people developing a proud self respect just might be tempted to think as individuals.

Fulwood fosters the picture of the un-

(Continued on page 8)

WHY IS THIS AD RUNNIN IN Ramparts

As you can see, the faci page is not devoted to advert ing Gallo wines. We would r have accepted such an ad. \ were asked by Gallo to s them space to make their c in response to the free ads have been running for ma months in support of the Ur ed Farm Workers Union and t Gallo boycott. We were p pared to have the other s presented (we have also p vided space in the letters c umn for that purpose) and answer it in the coverage of farmworkers struggle which pears on pages 10 through 20 this issue. They have made th case, and we have made ou Our position is unchanged.

The Edit

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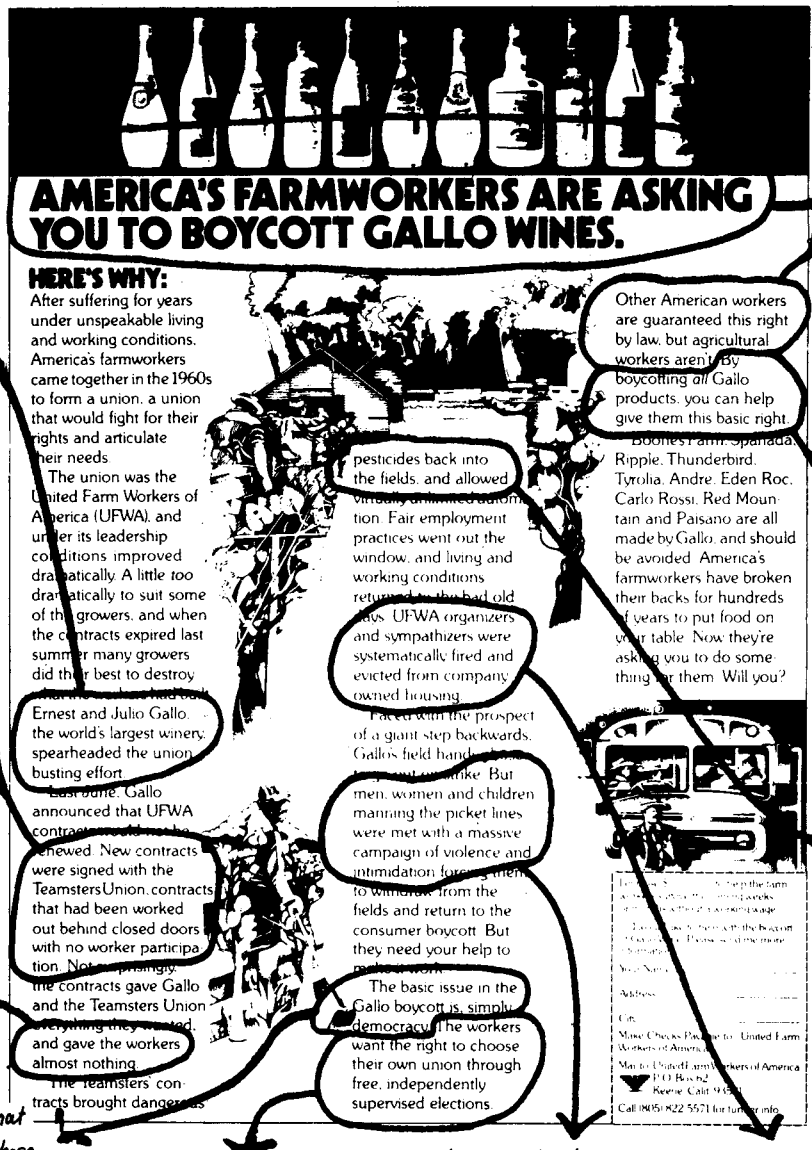
AMERICA'S FARMWORKERS ARE ASKING YOU TO BOYCOTT GALLO WINES.
HERE'S WHY:
After suffering for years under unspeakable living and working conditions, America's farmworkers came together in the 1960s to form a union, a union that would fight for their rights and articulate their needs.
The union was the United Farm Workers of America (UFWA), and under its leadership conditions improved dramatically. A little too dramatically to suit some of the growers, and when the contracts expired last summer many growers did their best to destroy
Ernest and Julio Gallo, the world's largest winery, spearheaded the union busting effort.
Last June, Gallo announced that UFWA contracts would not be renewed. New contracts were signed with the Teamsters Union, contracts that had been worked out behind closed doors with no worker participation. Not surprisingly, the contracts gave Gallo and the Teamsters Union everything they wanted and gave the workers almost nothing.
The Teamsters' contracts brought dangerous
pesticides back into the fields, and allowed
tion. Fair employment practices went out the window, and living and working conditions
UFWA organizers and sympathizers were systematically fired and evicted from company owned housing.
Faced with the prospect of a giant step backwards, Gallos field hand
men, women and children manning the picket lines were met with a massive campaign of violence and intimidation forcing them to withdraw from the fields and return to the consumer boycott. But they need your help to
The basic issue in the Gallo boycott is, simply, democracy. The workers want the right to choose their own union through free, independently supervised elections.
Other American workers are guaranteed this right by law, but agricultural workers aren't. By boycotting all Gallo products, you can help give them this basic right.
Boone's Farm, Spanada, Ripple, Thunderbird, Tyrolia, Andre, Eden Roc, Carlo Rossi, Red Mountain and Paisano are all made by Gallo, and should be avoided. America's farmworkers have broken their backs for hundreds of years to put food on your table. Now they're asking you to do something for them. Will you?
Call (805) 822-5571 for further info

Not true. We were among the first—back in 1967—to sign a contract with the United Farm Workers Union. And further, our 200 year-round workers were among the last of 45,000 UFWA workers to reject that union.

Also not true. The majority of our workers selected the Teamsters to represent them in exactly the same way the majority selected the UFWA in 1967—by presenting us with verified signature cards.

Nothing? Nothing except a contract that made our workers the highest-paid in the Continental United States. Nothing? Except a plan that gave them paid life insurance, paid health insurance, paid pension plan, paid vacations, paid holidays, paid disability insurance benifits, and paid unemployment benefits.

We agree. Democracy is what it's all about. The workers chose their own Union and we respect their choice.

There are 2,300,000 farm workers in the United States—less than 10,000 of them belong to the UFWA.

We have always supported bringing all agricultural workers under the National Labor Relations Act, which guarantees secret ballot elections for workers. The UFWA opposes bringing farm workers under this Act.

Boycotting Gallo wines can only hurt our workers. We are doing as much as we can to push for legislation to provide free, secret, legally-supervised and totally impartial elections.

California's pesticide controls are the strictest in the nation. Our pesticide controls are far stricter than those of California. And they are enforced.

We have always favored free, secret, legally-supervised and totally impartial elections.

Not true. What little violence occurred was caused by UFWA sympathizers.

No UFWA sympathizer was fired.

You should also know that Gallo Farm Workers earn from $2.89 to $3.75 per hour. The average worker earns $3.30. The average Gallo Farm Worker earns $7,785.00 a year. Gallo seasonal workers average $278.00 per week. All this, plus the above-mentioned fringe benefits.

We are distressed that there has been so much misinformation about our farm workers and our position. We hope this sets the record straight. If you would like to know more about the boycott of Gallo Wine, write to: Ernest & Julio Gallo, c/o FACTS, P. O. Box 1130, Modesto, Ca. 95353.

Ernest Gallo Julio Gallo.

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A SUNSHINE FUTURE OR A RADIOACTIVE ONE?

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Available in late October/early November at $15 per copy. Make checks payable to "Solar Energy Directory".

A SOLAR HEATING, COOLING AND ENERGY CONSERVATION CONFERENCE was held in May, 1974. This meeting provided a forum for government, industry, environmentalists and technical experts to air opinion and fact. The following are available as a result of the conference:
- Cassette audio tapes of sessions
- Proceedings to be published in near future*

FURTHER DETAILS ON THE ABOVE CAN BE OBTAINED UPON REQUEST

*These projects have been made possible in part by grants from the National Science Foundation.

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LETTERS

(From page 6)

changing white southerner, and puts Wallace at the top of the stack. Yet change has come to a society Jesse Hill Ford said "deplored evil—passively," and that in doing so was "a measure of the region's decadence, a definition of the South's defeated spirit." The violent sixties waited for 100 years before they exploded in places like Birmingham and Biloxi.

The "defeated spirit" is giving way to a successful biracial community that suffered for a long time to get as far as it is. Nevertheless, it is easy for people to take shots at what was, neglecting to see improvement. When judging George Wallace, Fulwood must not lose sight of the fact that there are a lot of people like him. A lot of people "who stood in the school house door" honestly want to change. No, a leopard cannot change its spots. But people aren't leopards either.

Tim Mishkofski
Lexington, Va.

[CORRECTION]

Editors:

On page 32 of the October 1974 issue of *Ramparts* in the article by Thomas Brom and Edward Kirshner re public power, the League of Women Voters of Berkeley is erroneously stated as opposing acquisition of PG&E's electric distribution system in Berkeley.

The League has never taken a position in favor of acquisition or opposed to acquisition.

Marilyn Couch
League of Women Voters
Berkeley, Calif.

[AMNESTY AND EXILE]

Editors:

The article on amnesty and exile in Canada (*Ramparts*, November 1974) was overall the best I've read. But it does make two points about loopholes in Ford's "clemency" plan that could put deserters and evaders on dangerous ground.

It is true that a returning exile has two weeks free before having to report to authorities. But the Immigration Service is careful that no one gets through without signing a promise to appear. If you try to return to Canada without appearing, you are subject to arrest by U.S. authorities.

Much has been written about how deserters can turn themselves in and get a dishonorable discharge, and then ignore the alternative service that will get the—the dubious "clemency" discharge. This is potentially dangerous. The Justice Department has given U.S. attorneys authority to prosecute deserters who try this loophole. Most may not bother, but it is unpredictable.

The *Ramparts* article also advises deserters and evaders to check with authorities about possible charges. *Never check with authorities on anything.* Use a competent draft or military counselor. About one-half of the 7,755 men marked by the government as draft evaders can get off on technicalities. More than 97 percent of the 222,000 declared delinquent by their draft boards are not even under investigation. But even if the government doesn't want you now, *you may be subject to alternative service if you turn yourself in.*

The ACLU has finally obtained from the Justice Dept. the official list of those who are wanted as draft evaders. Anyone now in the U.S. who wants to find out his status as a draft evader or deserter should contact the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (in San Francisco, Philadelphia, Chicago, Atlanta, and Denver), or the Clemency Information Center, 1100 W. 42nd St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46208, (317) 635-8259. For counseling in Canada, call: Toronto, 532-0724; Vancouver, 980-4910; Montreal, 488-8960; Winnepeg, 774-9323. If living in a remote area, call (toll free) (800) 665-8885.

Larry Martin
Vancouver Committee to aid
American War Objectors
N. Vancouver, B.C., Canada

[A WORD FROM GALLO]

Editors:

The United Farmworkers are protesting the fact that the Gallo farmworkers chose to change unions. The venomous charges, misstatements and lies being directed at the Winery as a result, have merely served to becloud the basic issues—that farmworkers have the right to belong to a union of their own choosing, and that a majority of the Gallo farmworkers petitioned management to negotiate with the Teamsters.

For more than 40 years the E. & J. Gallo Winery has encouraged unionism. There are today more than 1700 union workers at Gallo in addition to our 200 permanent and 300 seasonal union farmworkers.

The Gallo farmworkers chose to change unions. That is their right. They complained about having to serve the United Farmworkers Union, rather than having the UFW serve *their* needs.

They complained about having to pay three months back dues before being dispatched to a job. They complained about being forced to picket supermarkets and local stores. If they refused, farmworkers were fined $25.00. (Many chose to picket, rather than lose hard-earned pay.)

They complained about being forced to attend endless union meetings that accomplished little, or be fined for each meeting missed, even if they were working many miles away from the meeting place. At these meetings, discussions often centered around conditions which had long since been corrected. A few of these excesses were corrected by the UFW during their October 1973 Convention in Fresno. Too late!

Four months earlier, Gallo was petitioned by a majority of its farmworkers to negotiate a contract with the Teamsters. The Gallo-Teamsters contract equalled or exceeded every provision of the old UFW

(Continued on page 77)

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DON'T SWALLOW GALLO'S LINE!

You may have seen ads, pamphlets or letters recently from the E&J Gallo wine company, talking about the farm labor situation. Rather than confront the truth and justice of the farmworkers' charges against them, the brothers Gallo have launched a massive PR offensive aimed at obscuring the issues and misleading the public.

The facts of the Gallo situation speak for themselves:

In 1967, Gallo signed with the United Farm Workers (UFW) on the basis of signed authorization cards from a majority of the workers, verified by the California Department of Industrial Relations' Conciliation Service.

In 1973, Gallo signed with the Teamsters, on the basis of Petitions "verified" by no one except Gallo management. Even as Gallo was saying its workers wanted to change unions, a delegation of priests and nuns

this was our housing at Gallo. They finally tore it down.

was offering to present signed UFW authorization cards from a majority of the workers. Gallo ignored their phone calls and telegrams.

Cesar Chavez sent Gallo a telegram requesting free elections to settle the dispute. Gallo and the Teamsters refused to allow elections, for obvious reasons.

The Teamster contracts were substantially inferior to UFW contracts at three smaller wineries – Almaden, Christian Brothers and Novitiate. Guarantees on sanitation, pesticide protection, rest breaks, and prohibition of child labor were either eliminated from the contract or were rendered meaningless by the lack of worker-supervised enforcement.

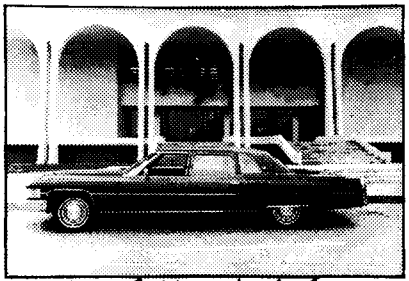
this was our communal bathroom Gallo couldn't afford stalls.

Gallo claims its full-time workers average $7,785 a year; and seasonal workers average $278 per week. They can undoubtedly produce a few check stubs showing apparently high wages, but only because it is the practice to issue a single check for the work of an entire family. The UFW has in its possession a check stub from a Gallo worker who worked 27 hours and, after various deductions—including $56.98 for "miscellaneous"—took home a grand total of $1.10. Even if you accept Gallo's claims at face value, their $2.89 per hour minimum wage is lower than minimum wages at Almaden, Christian Brothers and Novitiate.

When Gallo ignored its workers' wishes and signed with the Teamsters, most of the workers went out on strike. Gallo fired them, replacing them with strikebreakers and illegal aliens. The new work force, not surprisingly, voted to accept the new contract rather than lose their jobs. But the original work force, on the payroll at the time the previous contract expired, was never given the chance to vote on which union they wanted, let alone to ratify the new contract.

In any other industry, Gallo's tactics—changing unions without consulting the workers, bringing in new workers to negate a strike—would be illegal. But agricultural workers aren't covered by the protections all other American workers enjoy. Which leaves them just about powerless – unless you help.

By refusing to buy any Gallo wines*, you can help the workers win the right to belong to the union of their choice. Buying some other wine won't make much difference in your life – but it'll make a big difference in the lives of thousands of farmworkers.



... after all, Cadillac prices have gone up this is where the Gallo brothers work

* Boone's Farm, Madria Madria, Tyrolia, Ripple, Thunderbird, Spanada, Wolfe & Sons, Andre, Paisano, Carlo Rossi, Red Mountain, Eden Roc and *any* wine made in Modesto, Ca. are Gallo.

DON'T BUY THE GALLO LINE FARMWORKERS AFL-CIO **BOYCOTT ALL GALLO WINES!**

UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

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David B. Castro, secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters' Farm Workers Union Local

The Teamster Raid: Stalled in the Vineyards

by George Baker

The setting was more appropriate for a coming out party than a farmworkers' meeting. For a backdrop at the plush Del Monte Hyatt House in Monterey there were lush green fairways lapping at the reception room. On this day, when farmworkers were officially welcomed into the Teamster fold, the fairways were a measure of the gulf between the union and farmworkers. But there they were, Teamsters Union President Frank E. Fitzsimmons, William Grami, and other union dignitaries rubbing elbows with farmworkers who had been specially bused in to celebrate the chartering of Teamsters' Farm Workers Local 1973.

It was a well-staged event, calculated to impress the public and media with the Teamsters' commitment to organizing farmworkers. Henceforth, it was grandly announced, Local 1973, based in nearby Salinas, would be the vehicle used by the Western Conference of Teamsters to represent farmworkers. It was going to put Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, out of business. And David B. Castro, hand-picked to be the new local's secretary-treasurer, would be the equivalent of Chavez.

But down the road a few miles, another event was taking place that June 1974 day that could hardly please the Teamsters. The UFW called a one-day walkout against lettuce growers, most of whom have Teamster contracts. The results were not reassuring for David Castro; the daily harvest was slashed in half as more than 1,000 workers joined in the strike.

You may not have heard of Castro, but then he has only been organizing farmworkers since that installation ceremony. And given the inept performance turned in by his local in dealing with farmworker problems, it is understandable that he speaks with so little confidence of his place in the organization.

Since January 1973 the Teamsters have been representing farmworkers in dealings with growers, but Castro doesn't know when workers will be allowed to elect their local's executive board. Nor is he sure when the first membership meetings will be held. And the election of local officers? Well, that is a special matter to Castro who feels supremely threatened by, of

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all things, the workers.

"Suppose we held an election and it was stacked and I lost," he told me quite earnestly one day over a cup of coffee. "To be very honest, I have to make sure the local is going to make it," explaining that only if he heads it can things go smoothly. "I have to be better known among the workers," he continued, and if the men serving below him "can't sell me, I'll lose the election." Thus, he concluded, workers will be able to have union elections only when he is assured of winning, which will be about two years.

Yet it is unlikely any such elections will ever be held, for as Castro was speaking out another group of Teamsters was plotting to take over the farmworkers local. The coup, executed in early November, will insure that farmworkers never have a voice in their union affairs.

Ralph Cotner, described by fellow Teamsters as virulently anti-Mexican-American, was named to head a newly-created farmworkers division within the Western Conference, replacing Grami, who apparently had crossed conference director M. E. ("Andy") Anderson. In addition to Grami being booted upstairs, about 30 local employees, organizers, and officials who were loyal to him were also given their walking papers. It was not immediately clear what the upheaval portended, but to one of the Teamsters who was fired the future of Local 1973 is in doubt.

Cono Macias, who was responsible for most of the grape contracts, said he believes the Teamsters will eventually disband the local and shift its contracts to existing Teamster locals throughout the state. "They are going to disband, that's what I think," Macias said. "They are afraid of it; it's grown too much, it will get bigger and they are afraid of its power. They fear the power of the workers."

He called Cotner a "racist" and noted that most of those persons removed were Mexican-American. Instead of having a single local union, embracing all Teamster farmworkers, Cotner plans to dismember the local giving locals in Salinas, Fresno and other cities the opportunity to take over the contracts and, of course, the collection of $8 a month dues, Macias said.

It would be a clean sweep. Farmworkers would be swallowed up into local unions dominated by truckdrivers, wiping out any chance of electing their own leaders or representatives.

Anderson denied there were any plans to break up the local, calling such statements "ridiculous." But he conceded the Teamsters have had problems in enforcing contracts with growers. "What we realize we've got to do is to do a job for the members," a spokesman for Anderson said. "We are going to continue to organize, but right now we've got to pull the unit together and service contracts to the best of our ability to retain the support of the farmworkers."

Regardless of what occurs in this Byzantine maneuvering, the farmworkers, whom the Teamsters are supposed to represent, have no say in it. All that is happening, though directly affecting them, is done without their consent or even advice. Like pawns in a giant chess game, farmworkers are moved back and forth at the whim of Teamster power brokers.

Despite the upheaval, Castro, 51, remains one of the brokers. A farmworker in his younger days, he moved up through the Teamster ranks to head a cannery local in Hayward. In September, when he was shot twice, but not seriously injured, heavy rumors of Teamster in-fighting circulated. Castro, a short, stocky man with styled black hair and heavy-rimmed glasses, is a flashy dresser, which may explain why he has a tough time relating to his brother farmworkers. Conscious of the contrast between himself and the monastically-garbed Chavez, Castro felt compelled to explain to newsmen, "Ever since I can remember, I liked to wear a tie and, when I could afford it, I liked to wear a suit. And in all my days working in the fields I was never hungry or dirty."

Indeed, Castro's pleasant recollection of his days working the fields must come as a sweet surprise to members who harbor less fond memories. Instead of cavorting on golf courses, as the Teamster officials are wont to do, real life farmworkers are more likely to be found laboring beneath the blistering California sun, picking grapes or lugging a 50-pound bag of cantaloupes. Their faces, creased by the glaring sun and bitter experience, are the faces of people who have suffered much. Yet each spring, as the weather warms and the fruit ripens in California's farming valleys, they tramp the state, from Calexico to Yuba City. It is dirty, miserable, unrewarding work, but work they must.

Most often the struggle for power in the state's vineyards and fields is cast in terms of the Teamsters versus the UFW or Fitzsimmons versus Chavez, if you will. This is unfortunate, because the real struggle is that of the workers, seeking to better their social, economic, and political life.

The cult of Chavez being what it is, the UFW-Teamsters battle naturally takes on the aspect of the black hats against the white hats. But it is the worker who has the most to lose or gain. It is through the UFW and Chavez that farm labor has marched out of the 19th century and it is for this reason that the struggle represents one of the truly classic labor fights in America today.

[THE GAINS COULD BE WIPED OUT]

Not until Chavez and his followers set off the time bomb of unionism that had been ticking for years, did anyone pay much attention to farmworkers. Now the Teamsters, having connived with the growers, are loving the workers to death. In fact, it is hard to imagine a union more out of touch with its members than the Teamsters are with farmworkers. Myths die hard and one of them is that while the Teamsters may be infested by corruption and run like a Latin American dictatorship, they at least deliver militantly for their rank and file. The union may funnel some money into mob-connected front operations, but at least some of it gets to its members. So goes the myth.

The truth is that rank-and-file members—particularly farmworkers—are suffering grievously at the hands of their union. For California's growers, having the Teamsters represent their workers is easily the next best thing to having no union at all.

Oddly, the mass media, which were so quick to point out many of the real (and imagined) problems of the UFW, such as dues, hiring hall, and seniority, have taken at face value the puffery

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(left to right) David B. Castro, William Grami, and Frank Fitzsimmons at charter presentation

served up by Teamster publicists. Were they to scratch the surface, they would find a far different organization than is revealed in press release portrayals.

The Teamsters give distinctly secondary consideration to the seasonal workers who make up the bulk of the state's farm labor force, while reserving most of the benefits to the small percentage of permanent workers who pay dues more often.

The Teamsters have encountered numerous problems in administering contracts and collecting dues, both because of their approach of organizing workers from the top down and because of the seasonal nature of the work.

Major administrative problems have crept into at least one medical insurance plan for Teamster farmworkers, who often can't qualify for benefits under the stringent eligibility requirements. If they do qualify, they often receive late payment or none at all.

Above all, though, the Teamsters have stripped the farmworkers of the self-determination and power they had won through a decade of struggle and sacrifice under Chavez. It is an intangible quality of unionism, but Castro managed to put his finger on it when he said he might lose the election. No doubt he might, and this is what the Teamsters fear most—the power of the workers. It is a fear shared by the growers who have never really quibbled about paying workers the wages they know they deserve. It is raw, unadulterated power—the right to determine what's good for oneself—that bedevils both the Teamsters and growers in their dealings with farmworkers.

This is why Chavez has been so vigorously opposed by the state's agribusiness structure, which went running to the Teamsters in 1973, looking for a way out. What Chavez built is more than just a trade union. It is a union movement and social movement (in the broadest sense), of enormous power and consequence, a fresh breeze wafting in the stultified air of stagnant labor movements. His is a movement as concerned with community organization as with sanitary working conditions, as interested in cooperative grocery stores as in medical insurance plans.

[DESTROYING THE MOVEMENT]

All this could be wiped out if the Teamsters should succeed in destroying the Chavez movement. And one can take little comfort in cold, hard statistics. The UFW, which once had close to 55,000 dues-paying members and nearly 200 contracts, is down to a current membership of 10,000 and a mere dozen contracts. In 1973 it collected $600,012 in dues, compared to $1.2 million in 1972 and this year the figure is even lower. At the end of 1973 it had $259,983 cash on hand, compared to $1.1 million the year before.

By contrast, the Teamsters have some 50,000 farmworker members under about 350 contracts, though about 170 of those were signed before the Teamsters moved to put the UFW out of business. Their annual income from $8 a month dues totals some $800,000 to $1 million. And the international is said to be spending nearly $200,000 a month financing the farmworkers local while it tries to get off the ground. Last year the international contributed more than $2.4 million.

Clearly, the UFW has its work cut

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out for it. Chavez is confident it can be done within the next few years, while others are not so sure. He is counting primarily on a boycott of table grapes, the tactic that brought the initial victories in the late Sixties.

And to its boycott list, the UFW has added iceberg lettuce and the various Gallo wines. While the effectiveness of boycotts is always difficult to judge, this one appears to be significantly affecting the sales, and therefore indirectly prices, of both lettuce and grapes. Key support for the boycott has come from George Meany and the AFL-CIO and various religious groups, most importantly the Catholic Church.

By all accounts, the Gallo boycott, being keyed to brand names, is the most successful. California wine sales figures show that Gallo's share of state wine production during the first six months of this year dipped seven percent from the same period in 1973. Other developments in the wine industry complicate the picture, but the *Wall Street Journal*, for one, has at least partially attributed a reported nine percent decline in Gallo's sales to the effects of the boycott. Gallo has launched an extensive anti-boycott campaign, an indication that things are not going well for the giant company.

The case of the E & J Gallo Winery Co. offers a stark example of the issues involved in the three-cornered UFW-grower-Teamster battle. The Gallo Company, headquartered in Modesto, Calif., is no small-time operation. One out of every three bottles of wine sold in the United States is produced by Gallo. Whether it's labeled Red Mountain, Ripple, Thunderbird, Spanada, Madria-Madria Sangria, Boone's Farm, or Andre Champagne, Gallo makes it. And now Gallo is reaching out with a higher-class, higher-priced wine, hoping to capture an even larger share of the market. Though Gallo buys most of its grapes from independent growers, it has 10,000 acres of its own grapes, employing 600 seasonal and permanent grapepickers.

From 1967 to 1973, the UFW represented Gallo's farmworkers and in 1970 when the initial contract expired, Gallo renewed the pact without difficulty. But last year was a different story. As the contract neared expiration in March, the Teamsters had let it be known they were willing to sign contracts also. Knowing that the Teamsters were around, Gallo took a hard line in negotiations with the UFW. It wanted any new contract to do away with the union's hiring hall and to diminish control that the union exercised over who Gallo could hire.

These were crucial issues to the union, issues which are at the heart of the grower-UFW struggle. The hiring hall is an integral part of the UFW method of operation and one of the chief differences between it and the Teamsters. The power to allocate jobs and determine seniority, once left solely in the hands of farm supervisors or contractors, now rested in the hands of the farmworkers themselves. To get a job, a worker received a dispatch from the hiring hall, and dispatches were assigned on the basis of seniority.

Instead of the grower controlling the farm labor force through his hiring and firing power, the union controlled it, supplying workers through the hiring hall and protecting them via the local ranch committee. While this tended to stabilize the work force, it also removed the growers from the daily control of workers' lives and lessened their power to intimidate and dominate. Growers found this most unpalatable.

Additionally, each ranch, including Gallo, had ranch committees elected by workers to deal with problems such as working conditions, levels of pay and day-to-day grievances.

These are the cornerstones of the UFW, elements seen by Chavez and others as necessary not only to give workers the power of self-determination, but also to give them the experience and confidence of ministering to their own affairs. But for Ernest Gallo, the company chairman who runs the $250 million business, dealing with untrained, worker-selected committees and hiring halls was not his idea of corporate efficiency.

"There was never enough supervision (from Chavez) and leaving it up to the ranch committee was entirely impractical," the normally reticent Gallo said in a rare interview, granted in an effort to minimize the effect of the boycott. "There seemed to be nobody above the ranch committee who gave a damn. When you leave it up to the worker, how energetic are they going to be."

[WHO THE TEAMSTERS REPRESENT]

It was clear that Gallo did not understand the union brand of democracy and that he preferred dealing man-to-man with Chavez rather than a bunch of unlettered workers. Not only did Gallo dislike the way the hiring hall and ranch committees were run, citing cronyism and favoritism as two failings, but he says the workers also rejected them. It was for these reasons, he says, that he signed a contract with the Teamsters.

Gallo's account did not include the firing of workers, loyal to the UFW, who protested when the company allowed Teamster organizers to come into his vineyards. Nor does it take account of the company's unwillingness to bargain over the issue of the hiring hall. Bargaining with the Teamsters on this point was simplified because the Teamsters don't have hiring halls.

If the Teamsters genuinely represented the workers as Gallo claims, offering as proof the 158-1 contract ratification vote, a funny thing happened when the UFW called a strike on June 27, 1973. Most of the Gallo workers joined the strike. In fact, 71 families living in shabby, unsanitary Gallo-provided housing refused to go to work, preferring instead to join the picket line. (Gallo claims there were only 31 families.) But regardless of numbers, Gallo fired all those workers who went on strike, and the contract was ratified by a vote of the strike-breakers.

How are Gallo workers being represented by the Teamsters these days? Not too well. One day this summer, two reporters walked through Gallo's 10,000-acre vineyard in the San Joaquin Valley and asked workers about the labor struggle. Several of them thought the reporters were Teamster representatives, since they are seldom in evidence. A family from Mexico thought a company farm supervisor, who is there every day, was the chief Teamsters' spokesman. Just the day before, Gallo workers told us grape pickers at another Gallo ranch, incensed over low wages, had staged a day-long walkout without the benefit of the assistance from their new union.

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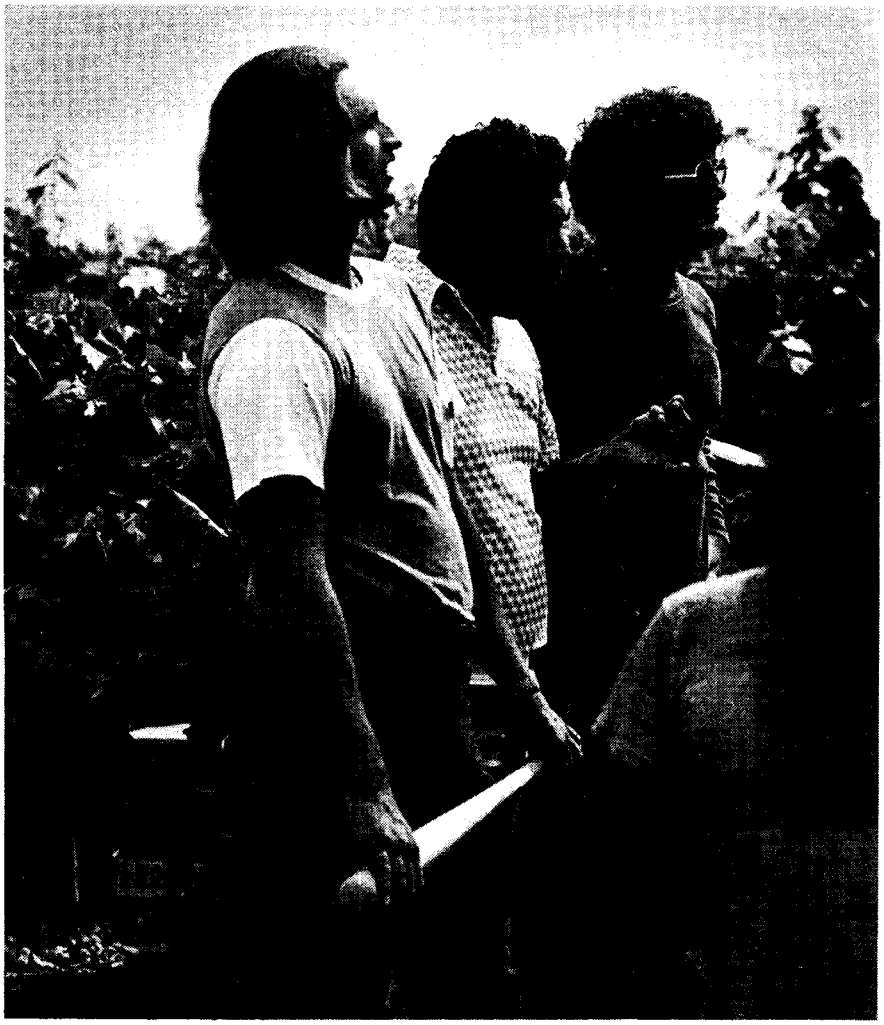

Lamont (California) grape fields

[THE RAID]

The Teamsters were able to take over Gallo's and other contracts in 1973, partly through an organized campaign of terror that began with the unleashing of goon squads on priests and pickets in the Coachella Valley and ended with the shooting death of UFW member Juan de la Cruz on a picket line near Bakersfield. It was a brutal summer, the state's most violent farm labor battle since the cotton strikes of the Thirties. More than 3,000 UFW members were arrested for violating restrictive court injunctions sharply limiting picket activities at the many strike sites.

Throughout that summer of discontent and continuing into this year, the Teamster rationale for what amounts to union-busting on a scale nearly unmatched in American labor history, was that they would use their power to improve the lot of the farmworker. The Teamsters want "to better wages and working conditions," Fitzsimmons says.

But the falsity of this position was demonstrated earlier this year by no less than William Grami, the architect of the farmworker raiding drive and one-time director of organizing for the Western Conference of Teamsters.

Speaking candidly, as he seldom does, Grami was asked under oath at a deposition what the greatest benefit of organizing farmworkers was. Of the Western Conference's 400,000 members, he replied, 100,000 of them are employed in some aspect of agribusiness—driving a truck out of a field, working in a cannery or frozen food plant or operating farm equipment.

"The organization of field workers tremendously enhances our bargaining power for the rest of those workers," Grami declared. "That's one benefit I can see, an immediate benefit." Then, almost as an afterthought, he added, "And also it's our purpose to extend those benefits we've established for all industries to conform to any unorganized industry."

If Grami spoke candidly of the Teamsters' real motive for unionizing farmworkers, his one-time boss, Einar C. Mohn, director of the Teamsters Western Conference, went him one better in describing the role farmworkers would play in running their own union. His conclusion: none. One need only quote Mohn's remarks, which stand as a monument to both racism and indifference.

"It will be several years before they can start having membership meetings, before we can use the farmworkers' ideas in the union," Mohn told an interviewer last year before he retired. "I'm not sure how effective a union can be when it is composed of Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals with temporary visas. Maybe as agriculture becomes more sophisticated and more mechanized, with fewer transients, fewer green-carders and as jobs become more attractive to whites, then we can build a union that can have a structure and that can negotiate from strength and have union participation."

The Teamster philosophy of labor relations is not likely to keep growers awake at night. In fact, the union discourages farmworker strikes for obvious reasons—Teamster workers in related agribusiness occupations might be affected.

As Castro put it, "All the Chavistas do is strike. That's not using their talents. That's why we talk to growers so that we can iron out situations before grievances are filed. They (the UFW) just tell people to stick it and that's that."

Apparently Castro has not been able to impress this gentle brand of union militancy on his members. This year there have been numerous walkouts at ranches working under Teamster pacts, similar to the one at Gallo.

Last February, for example, in the Imperial Valley, hard by the Mexican border, several thousand asparagus cutters walked off their jobs in the middle of the harvest. Upset because they had not received a raise in two years under the Teamsters and because growers re-

Photos by Bob Fitch/Black Star

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fused to pay on a piece-rate basis, the workers shut down the harvest completely.

The growers reacted swiftly. The night of the walkout, February 18, three of them, along with a labor contractor, decided to meet the workers' demands which were being pressed by UFW organizers. Oddly, the Teamsters, who supposedly represented the workers, were neither told of the meeting nor participated in it. The growers, out of hand, simply changed the rate of pay written in contracts.

One of the growers, John Jackson Jr., summed up the situation. "There had been a lack of effort on the part of the Teamsters to communicate to the worker what the [pay] rate was. There was an education process that needed to be involved that wasn't."

[A POLICY OF NON-INVOLVEMENT]

This generally follows the philosophy that Castro and his cohorts are implementing, taking care to insure workers don't get too involved in their own affairs. "The membership's primary responsibility is to familiarize itself with the local office and to ask questions about the local. We want workers to completely read contracts and if they have any questions about the union to ask their representatives."

That might work out better if there were actually representatives around, but there often aren't. Workers complain that the only time they see the representatives, (called, variously, organizers or business agents) is when they collect dues. There are no ranch committees, no hiring halls to maintain a direct link between the membership and the union.

Said Dora Sanchez, a lettuce cutter from Mexicali, "Since we signed we have been pushed harder by the foreman. We told a Teamster we needed somebody else on the [lettuce cutting] machine. They promised to get somebody but never did. The Teamsters only come to the fields one time a month to sign up people. They never talk to the people or try to help them out."

Leonides C. de Rodriguez, a woman who was refused work at one Teamster ranch by a labor contractor, said more of the companies and contractors are refusing to hire women "because they cannot be pushed to do as much work as men."

The Teamsters' system is one of traditional trade union practices, but in California's vast expanse of land, where the workers move with the harvest, the system is fraught with problems. Chavez knew that when he first began organizing and the Teamsters are slow to learn it.

As far as Castro can tell, everything is fine. "There's always room for improvement and I think we have improved the overall picture of the Teamsters' farmworkers union," he said.

But he hasn't improved it to the satisfaction of Mrs. Esther Mendoza of Mexicali. Last January 15, Mrs. Mendoza's husband, Manuel and three of their children, were riding a labor contractor's bus on a two-hour drive from Mexicali to a lettuce ranch near Blythe which had a Teamsters' contract. Just outside Blythe, the bus careened around a corner and crashed into a ditch. Nineteen of the 58 farmworkers on the bus were killed, including Manuel Mendoza and his teenage sons.

(The incident pointed up the pernicious role contractors play in farm labor. The Teamsters have tried to explain away the fact that they permit them to operate. No amount of rationalizing can justify their continued existence.)

Since Mendoza was a Teamsters'

UFW pickets and police, Lamont (California), 1973

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member, his widow was eligible for $2,000 in life insurance benefits. For more than nine months, she waited for her check, finally getting it after the repeated intercession of an attorney. The treatment accorded Mrs. Mendoza, who finally had to call on the UFW for help, is not an isolated example. Numerous farmworkers have complained of shabby treatment at the hands of the Teamsters when they try to collect on promised benefits.

The situation deteriorated to the point that the Western Growers Association, whose Teamster members fund one of the major medical insurance plans, had to change administrators because of the continual complaints of workers.

One worker, Ramon Gallo of El Centro, said he developed a sore on his leg which had to be treated by a Mexicali doctor. Though the Teamsters helped him fill out his insurance forms, there was a snag after that. "In June 1973 I received $5 from the Teamsters. I am still paying the doctor bill of $80 because $18 is still owing."

Another Imperial Valley worker, Humberto Flores, working under a Teamster contract, tried to get the union to pay $60 of his wife's medical bills that he understood was due him. The bills weren't paid because the Teamsters said he didn't qualify for benefits after all.

This is not unusual, however, because the eligibility requirements are so restrictive that many workers, especially seasonal and migratory, can't qualify.

To be eligible, a Teamster member must have worked 80 hours during the previous month. This is fine during the peak harvest season when a worker might work six days a week, eight hours a day. But when work slows down in the fall and winter the benefits lapse, leaving the worker unprotected just when he may be most needy. For permanent workers, who work more or less year-round, it is not so bad.

By contrast, the UFW's Robert F. Kennedy Medical Plan permits workers to accumulate up to 250 hours so that their coverage can extend up to nine months of the year.

The second-class treatment of seasonal workers extends to another fringe benefit—pensions. The Teamsters have loudly trumpeted the fact that early next year farmworkers will be eligible to retire on a pension of $150 a month at age 65, something not available to members of the UFW.

But the requirement of hours accumulation helps permanent workers and hinders seasonal employees. The pension administrator, Michael Thomacello, said the plan "was designed for permanent employees, not seasonal workers. The short-term guy pays for the long-term guy. You've got enough turnover, enough people coming in and going out without collecting [benefits] so you can pay the benefits."

[A LONG WINTER]

Cesar Chavez faces another long winter, waiting for the pieces to fall into place. The boycott must take its toll on the growers' pocketbook; legislation for secret-ballot representation elections will hopefully be enacted in the California legislature next year; and perhaps, the workers will be more able to assert themselves against Teamster misrepresentation.

But Chavez has faced these kinds of long odds before and there has been a tendency by the growers, the Teamsters, and the public to count him out prematurely.

The union's greatest strength, he says, is the workers. "What it is really all about is who has the workers," he said in an interview. As a practical matter, he concedes there are workers who prefer the Teamsters to the UFW, and there are others who simply want to work, owing allegiance to no union. But given their choice in an election, workers would vote for the UFW over the Teamsters, Chavez said. Already this year, workers have voted with their feet numerous times, expressing their dissatisfaction with the Teamsters.

But the workers—it all comes back to them. "People have no understanding of the power of the workers," Chavez declared. "They look at power in terms of money, prestige, and friends. That certainly is power. But public opinion and worker solidarity give us more power in the end. If you were to write that with all the problems we have now, that farmworkers have more power than before, people wouldn't believe you. So it's easier for people to just say that the farmworkers don't have any power."

Chavez, whose organizing schedule ends at infinity, remains supremely confident his cause will win in the end. One of his favorite expressions is, "We have more time than money."

"Normally, a small, struggling union like ours would have been destroyed by the combined opposition of the powerful union . . . and growers with great influence in their community. But it is not going to destroy us. Our boycott will be more effective than ever. We are going to beat them."

"If there were no Teamsters we'd easily have a $3 base pay scale instead of $2.50 and our union would have 100,000 workers organized in the state. Don't forget the Teamsters don't organize workers, they organize growers. They sign sweetheart contracts with the growers and tell the worker they now belong to the union."

For years Chavez has opposed the kinds of state and federal legislation for secret-ballot elections that have been proposed. But recently he changed his mind. Last year, with strong state AFL-CIO backing, the UFW sponsored a secret-ballot election bill which did not carry the usual riders ruling out boycotts and harvest time strikes. Ironically, the growers and Teamsters, who have made much of their desire for elections, lobbied successfully to kill the bill in the State Senate after it had won in the Assembly. Chavez has also opposed inclusion of farmworkers under the National Labor Relations Act, from which they are now excluded, because the NLRB would also restrict the use of boycotts.

There is an excellent chance that an unadulterated election bill—which would give the workers the right to choose their union—will become law, especially since UFW ally Edmund G. Brown Jr. will be the new governor. With such a bill on top of the strikes and boycotts, says UFW counsel Jerome Cohen, "We will be able to kick the Teamsters out of the fields." That is, if the workers don't do it first.

George Baker is a San Joaquin Valley (California) newsman and free-lance writer.

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Cesar Chavez, president of United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO

Can Chavez Win?

Fred Ross, San Francisco Bay Area director of the United Farm Workers Union, leads the way up a narrow, winding flight of stairs, his long legs taking two at a time. On the third floor he turns left, strides down a long, carpeted hallway peering into rooms on either side, looking for a comfortable place to light long enough for an interview. The reporter trailing him pokes inquisitively into a few of the rooms we pass. Each is little more than a cell – high ceilings, one window – and each is spartanly decorated with posters and leaflets advertising UFW activities. A bed and small dresser comprise the furniture in most rooms.

The building, now known as "Boycott House," was designed to be spartan. A former residence for seminarians, it's a four-story, slate grey concrete blockhouse hunched comfortably in the shadow of San Francisco's St. Paul's Church. Where once the complex echoed with Irish brogues and muted Latin, it now rings with lilting Spanish and the polyglot American-English-street dialect common to all urban cores. But the seminary spirit lingers on; the young people who live in Boycott House seem infused with the religious fervor and discipline of the seminarians who preceded them. *La Causa* is more than a union, more than a social movement; at times it is a religion of its own.

Finally settling into a squat, upholstered chair in one corner of a large common room, Ross begins an easy, flowing discourse on the United Farm Workers and the continuing boycott against table grapes, lettuce and Gallo wines. His direct brown eyes are red-rimmed, momentoes of a sleepless night spent in Alameda County jail. Ross and 11 others were released just hours before, after sitting-in around the grape counter at an Oakland Safeway store. Ross calls it an "escalation of tactics," a symbolic gesture signifying that the UFW is again on the move, still powerful and still convinced of eventual victory.

As he speaks insistently about the "good fight" being waged in the fields and on the picket lines, about the intransigence of growers and the day-to-day scrambling to survive, there is an overwhelming sense of *deja vu*. Wait, the reporter thinks, didn't we – the collective "we" who hit the streets and the supermarkets, the picket lines, and the courtrooms, and the jails – didn't we *win* this one? Didn't our combined energies culminate in the victorious

by Rick Beban

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signing of contracts with table and wine grape growers in 1970?

Yes. And no. Victories are often ephemeral. It seems the righteous moral victories are often the most ephemeral of all. Turn your back to face another battle and the position you think you've gained on solid rock crumbles like clay. So it has been with the United Farm Workers. The supporters who assumed *La Huelga* had been won are needed back. The methods of the opposition have grown more sophisticated; the power of the opposition has increased geometrically, while the UFW's has declined arithmetically.

[LOCKED IN BATTLE]

1970 was a banner year for the UFW's Aztec eagle. It was also a year in which the spectre of possible defeat was first manifested. After decades of sporadic attempts to organize California's estimated 400,000 farmworkers, Cesar Chavez' fledgling United Farm Workers Union had, in five grueling years, hammered out contracts which gave the union representation over the tiny percentage of farmworkers who toil in the grape vineyards. It was a sweet victory, a victory achieved in the fields, at the bargaining table, and in the marketplace with the help of hundreds of thousands of boycott supporters and sympathizers. It was a triumph that gave the workers their first taste of self-determination, the first inkling that an individual *did* have power over his own life and working conditions. As Fred Ross recalls, "It was just . . . really . . . *impressive* to see that mechanism at work. And it's a powerful – if you can imagine – it's just a complete change in their lives. No one *ever* asked the workers to take part in their own working conditions."

With 182 vineyard contracts, representing 90 percent of the growers, firmly in hand, the Chavistas moved, late in July 1970, to follow up on organizing efforts begun in the lettuce fields around Salinas. The international grape boycott was over and the union was strong, assured, confident. "We barely had 24 hours to celebrate," Ross recalls, when the UFW was struck a near-fatal blow. The 200 lettuce growers in Monterey County announced that they had signed contracts giving the 2 million plus member Teamster Union jurisdiction over the lettuce workers – the result of years of covert and overt warfare by the Teamsters to control the food supply in America from fields to market.

Following the growers-Teamsters announcement, 7,000 lettuce workers walked out of the fields in a strike which has continued to this day. A Monterey County court order, which severely limited picketing and strike activities on the grounds that the lettuce strike was actually a "jurisdictional dispute" between the UFW and Teamsters, was overturned by the California Supreme Court in December 1973. The opinion pointed to the fact that the growers did not attempt to find out who their workers wanted as representatives and that "at least a substantial number and probably the majority of the applicable field workers wanted to be represented by the UFWU rather than the Teamsters."

While the lettuce strike continued, the Teamsters and UFW representatives met throughout 1970 and 1971 to attempt to settle jurisdictional questions. The UFW, as a good faith measure, suspended the lettuce boycott they had begun during the strike. But by 1972 it had become obvious that the Teamsters were not negotiating with equal good faith. The time they were buying for the growers was precious time that could have been channeled into the lettuce boycott. Negotiations between the unions broke down and the boycott was rekindled.

But the growers had put the time to good use. Representatives of growers associations gathered signatures on a "Farm Labor Relations Initiative" petition and succeeded in having an anti-UFW measure placed on the 1972 California ballot. Proposition 22, as it was designated, would have eliminated the right of the UFW to engage in secondary boycotts (against Safeway Stores, for example, and all markets which handled boycotted lettuce) and would have crippled the union. Energy which could have been directed toward the continuing lettuce boycott was channeled into the defeat of Proposition 22.

1973 was the worst year yet for UFW losses. In addition to renegotiating contracts with the lettuce growers, the Teamsters raided the vineyards. The hard-won contracts giving them right of representation over contracts signed with the grape growers in 1970 were expiring. Now the Teamsters came up with contracts to represent field workers in 181 of the 182 ranches previously represented by the UFW. In addition, the Teamsters signed contracts with Gallo and Franzia wineries, Gallo being America's largest wine producer and Franzia being a Gallo family holding. Strikes erupted all over California and $65-a-day Teamster Union goons created violent incidents wherever picket lines existed. The table grape boycott was revived and a boycott of Gallo products was instituted. AFL-CIO President George Meany, outraged at the union-busting tactics of Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, authorized $1.6 million from AFL-CIO members to help the affiliated UFW pay strike benefits and stay alive.

United Farm Worker member

Late 1973 and 1974 was a time of regrouping for the embattled UFW. In addition to the Teamster raids, the union had to handle internal complaints about dues structure and hiring hall practices and the continuing threat of "illegals" – Mexican laborers who pour across the border and find work in the fields. The *bracero* program, which until 1964 had allowed large numbers of unemployed Mexicans to work in American fields, had long provided a pool of ready-made strikebreakers. Only after the program expired was the UFW able to launch

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Farmworker housing near Stockton

an organizing drive with any chance of success. It is bad enough that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been criminally lax about the illegals. A return to the *bracero* program – and there is talk of doing so in exchange for some access to Mexico's newly discovered oil fields – could quickly kill the UFW.

["A GOOD FIGHT"]

Most of the national press was running articles concluding sadly that Chavez and the UFW are beaten. But Fred Ross, speaking for the UFW, disagreed. Conceding that the union is in trouble, he predicts a resurgence of interest by boycott and union supporters, based on recent organizing efforts. He says that full-time organizers, who work for room and board and $5 per week, are taking up the Aztec eagle banner in greater numbers than before. The difficulty over the hiring halls and dues payments are being ironed out, as the strikers and activists who built the union become experienced administrators who can run it.

Ross agrees with the reports that show the reduction of UFW members *under contract* to 10,000–12,000, but points out that the figure does not reflect the total membership. There are, he says, well over 60,000 members in California alone. Some have accepted Teamster affiliation in order to work, he claims, but the Teamsters are having a difficult time collecting the $8 per month dues from the majority of their "members." The Teamsters don't have the persistence to stick it out, Ross believes. "I think when it gets too distasteful for them, when it becomes, in practical terms, too much of a financial and political liability, I think they're going to drop out."

Ross is also heartened by signs that the boycott against Gallo wines seems to be having some effect. "The product boycott – the brand name – is the easiest one to run. It's just taken off; it seems to have a life of its own." Various sources, from the *Washington Post* to the *Wall Street Journal*, have reported that Gallo's share of the market has fallen off and that sales are down between nine and 20 percent.

Clearly feeling the pressure, Gallo has opened up a counterattack against the United Farm Workers boycott. In letters sent to religious leaders, groups, and publications across the country, Ernest Gallo says "My brother, Julio, and I are distressed by the position taken by some religious groups on the jurisdictional dispute between the United Farm Workers of America and the Teamsters Union." Gallo goes on to charge that statements being made against his company were "so patently lies, distortions and exaggerations that few would believe them" and encloses "a pamphlet and a few articles which I know you will read with an open mind." The pamphlet offers responses to short quotes taken from UFW literature and other sources and seeks to refute each one.

Gallo has sent similar letters and enclosures to mayors of cities over 25,000 and to student organizations and newspapers which have supported

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the UFW boycott. In addition, Gallo public relations man Dan Solomon, who works directly under Ernest Gallo, has prepared an advertisement, to run in publications that have run UFW advertisements, offering a rebuttal of UFW charges. The Gallo ad reprints the UFW ad, circles key points and attempts to refute each with notes in the margin.*

While the possible reinstitution of the *bracero* program could lead to disaster for the UFW, Ross says the union has sounded out Congressional and Senate support against the possibility. "We're on top of it," he insists. In fact, "we're on top of it" is the theme which runs through Ross' comments. Other UFW members, who did not wish to speak out for attribution, privately wish, as one put it "That Fred didn't sound so damned optimistic. It makes organizing difficult."

But Ross says the UFW has a strategy for the future mapped out and getting into high gear. "Within the next eight months," he predicts, "we're gonna run the Teamsters right out of California." The California scenario, as Ross explains it, hinged on the election of Edmund "Jerry" Brown as governor. With Brown now on his way to the governor's mansion, the UFW plans to reintroduce legislation narrowly defeated in California last legislative session which would give farmworkers the right to supervised free elections but would not take away the right to secondary boycotts. The growers have maintained that they would like free elections "under the National Labor Relations Act," but the UFW has resisted inclusion of farmworkers because the NLRA prohibits secondary boycotts. (The NLRA, after all, largely covers unions which have already organized their industry – in part through the successful use of secondary boycotts.) The farmworker bill would parallel the NLRA, but without what they feel are its restrictive provisions. With Brown in the governor's chair and a new, Democratic legislature, Ross feels they can pass the kind of bill they have been pushing for, hold elections in the fields, and thus "chase the Teamsters right out of California."

In the meantime Ross emphasizes the importance of continuing the boycotts and the need for continuing financial and political support. The union chapters and boycott committees in 40 states are going strong, he says, but still require more backing from the public. He remains tremendously optimistic. "We're finding that people *want* to get revived. They might have dropped away a year ago, two years ago, but we find they're coming back. We're having more fundraisers, for example, among the kind of people who were supporters in the early days. Now they're looking for a way to get back and involved."

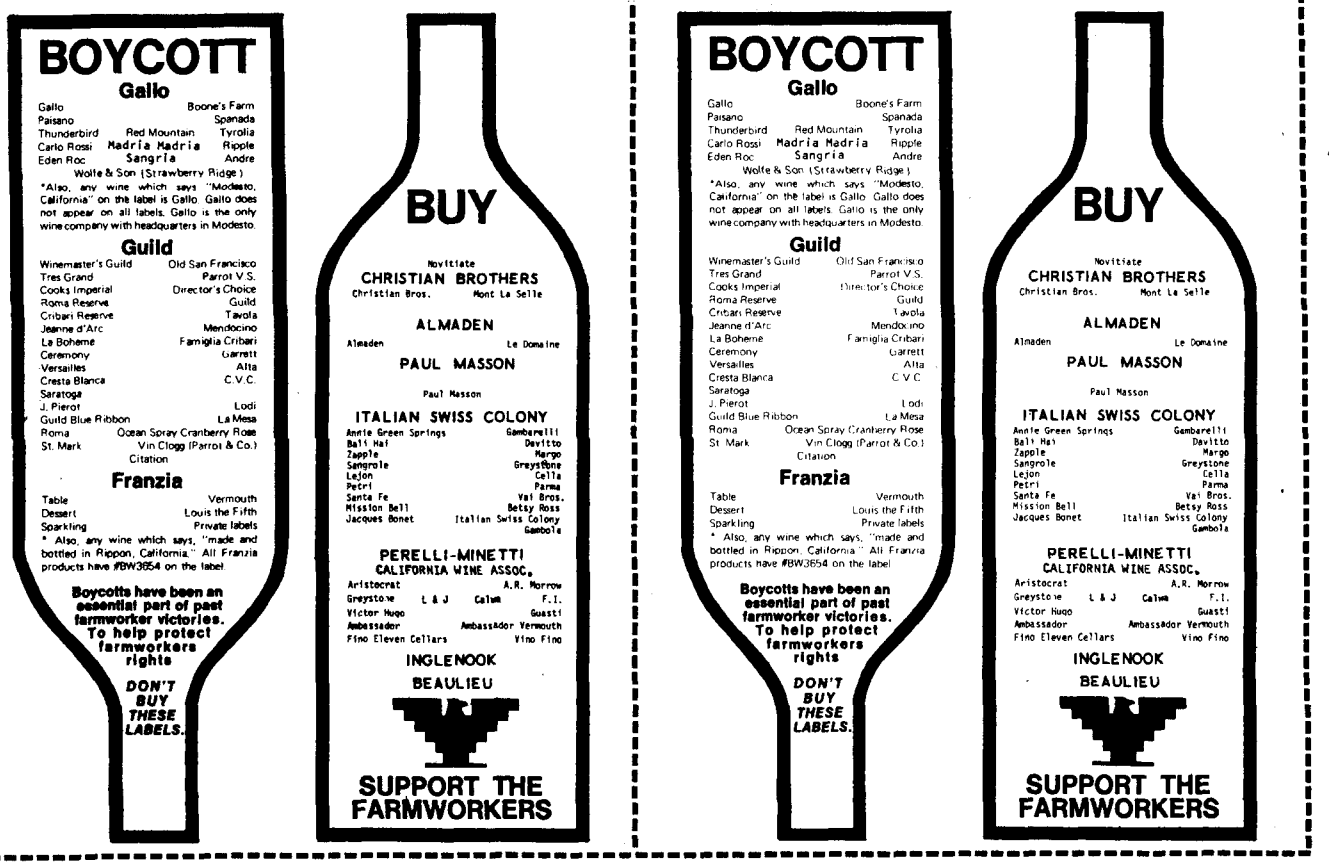
There is an evangelistic tone to Ross' voice; an almost Old World civilized quality to his demeanor. The two-by-two grape stakes the Teamsters used to beat farmworkers, the years of hot, backbreaking stoop labor in the fields, the many sleepless nights of tedious meetings: these are all transitory spectres, fleeting bad memories that pale before the ultimate triumph of *La Causa.*

Rick Beban is an editor for the Pacific Sun *(Mill Valley, California).*

***See page 7.**

Below are two sets of buy/don't buy lists for the UFW boycott.

Tear out, carry with you, post on refrigerator, support the boycott.



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Saigon's Corruption Crisis:

The Search for an Honest Quisling

South Vietnam is once more in ferment, with street demonstrations protesting the high cost of living, official thievery, police state violence, and the government's refusal to abide by the Paris Peace Agreements. Many of these protests have involved personal attacks on Thieu himself, and there is a widespread belief that his days in power are numbered. The immediate causes of the crisis are the acute economic difficulties besetting the Saigon regime, resulting in large part from the continuing drain of war and gross mismanagement, the flooding caused by bombing and extensive logging operations, and the refusal of the regime to permit the return of refugees to agricultural areas under PRG administration. The situation has been further aggravated by the world-wide inflation and rise in import prices, internal economic stagflation, and the cutback in U.S. spending and "aid." The cost of living virtually doubled in Saigon over the past year. Mass unemployment, recently estimated at 3.5 million, coupled with police state terror, has assured that the money wages of those employed would not rise proportionately. Living standards are deteriorating even for the upper 10 percent, who had formerly benefitted from the American invasion and selective largesse. For the 90 percent of the population that has borne the brunt of decades of counterrevolutionary violence, the situation is far more threatening. While the urban upper class suffers a reduction in living standards, the rural population, refugees, and urban dispossessed are faced with malnutrition and literal starvation. The Saigon press reports that in the Central Provinces 60 percent of the population faces starvation and that even in the Mekong Delta, people lack rice.

A year ago, demonstrations of the sort now taking place in Saigon, Hué, and elsewhere would have been prevented or abruptly terminated by beatings, imprisonment, and torture. The seriousness of the economic disorder and the spread of disaffection to the ranks of respectable, hard-line supporters of the Thieu regime have made unrestrained terror less feasible. An equally important factor in the turbulence and the somewhat muted Saigon government response is the delicate matter of U.S. aid. Congress has become an important determinant of the volume of dollars flowing to Saigon – the "corruption dividend," to coin a term modeled on the concept of the "growth dividend" in the U.S. Anti-war Congressmen may be able to persuade their colleagues that "aid" to a regime of terror and robbery is "wasted" even from the narrow standpoint of efficient pacification. Given the decline of conservative and Pentagon enthusiasm for propping up this distant and expensive client, budget allocations for Saigon are vulnerable. The Congressional cut from $1.45 billion to a mere $700 million in military aid was a traumatic lesson for Saigon. A new image may be required to persuade Congress that "free Vietnam" deserves its unqualified support.

The current malaise in South Vietnam has its deeper roots in the 25 year long effort of the U.S., still in force, to impose governments of its choice on the states of Indochina. Since any such government must fend off a powerful tide of revolutionary nationalism, the U.S. has been forced – as elsewhere in the world – to rely on reactionary minorities whose main qualifications have been their readiness to assist the U.S. in resisting their own countries' struggle for independence. This unremitting counterrevolutionary intervention by the U.S. is, of course, regularly described as a generous effort to guarantee "free choice" and "self-determination" for the populations under siege. But the reality is understood among the upper echelons of policy makers: the choice is ours, not that of our victims; and self-determination is incompatible with the rule of the clients we have imposed.

Thus, we find a General Maxwell Taylor ruminating in 1964 that "we could try again with another civilian government . . . [or] invite back a military dictatorship on the model of that headed of late by General Khanh." Or, in the words of the late pacification chief John Paul Vann in an internal army memo of 1965, "a popular political base for the Government of South Vietnam does not now exist . . . [and a] reorientation necessary to appeal to the majority of the population will not occur voluntarily at the top." As Vann further pointed out: "The existing government is oriented toward the exploitation of the rural and lower class urban populations" and is "a continuation of the French colonial system of government with upper-class Vietnamese replacing the French." Nothing essential has changed since.

Despite such acknowledgements of the obvious, and the murderous and corrupt quality of the Thieu regime, Congress continues to grant it aid on the grounds that "we would not want to abandon the South Vietnamese!"

Given its role, the unreformable "top" referred to by Vann may appropriately be dubbed the "Quisling faction."

by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman

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Ngo Ba Thanh confronts a Saigon policeman during a Third Force demonstration, October 20, 1974

(We need not dwell on the sad irony that Norway conferred the Nobel Peace Prize on the man who played a key role in killing perhaps a million Vietnamese to preserve the Quisling faction in power.) The services of this faction do not come cheaply. Fanatics and knaves make neither efficient administrators nor inspiring leaders. As Malcolm Browne noted a decade ago, "Unfortunately [sic], most of the really intelligent, dedicated, and patriotic men and women who form the stuff of sound leadership stayed with the Viet Minh." The U.S.-backed neo-colonial leadership has generally been venal, engaged in or tolerating bribery, thievery, and illicit trading in drugs, currencies, and stolen goods on a massive scale. This is a built-in structural characteristic. Traitors can be bribed. Their comprador support of smugglers, pimps, and quick-kill businessmen live in an economic world pervaded – oiled – by corruption. And the interests of the sponsor often demand special privileges, so that the entire network of arrangements, including the selection of leaders *qualified to do the work to be done,* makes corruption integral to the system.

These characteristics of the Thieu regime were well described in 1968 by Senator Edward Kennedy, reflecting on his own observations of the Quisling faction's callous disregard for its refugee population:

"From the way they look upon the people outside Saigon, and the way they treat the peasants elsewhere, they have become much like the colonialists who trained them. They are truly colonialists in their own nation . . . Corruption pervades all aspects of Vietnamese life, and it is brazenly practiced . . . Government jobs are bought and paid for by people seeking a return on their investments. Police accept bribes. Officials and their wives run operations in the black market. AID funds and hospital supplies are diverted into private pockets . . . In the field of refugee care and in many other fields the Government of South Vietnam has been engaged in the systematic looting of its own people."

Much the same is true today, with daily reports of the pocketing by officials of the pay of "phantom troops" or the rice rations of live refugees, and the stealing and smuggling of medicine, scrap metals, and military supplies. Even new jet fighter planes are converted into ready money by the Saigon corruption machine, a 1974 police raid uncovering in an illegal scrap metal depot the wings of at least 15 A-37 aircraft (large numbers of which were rushed to Saigon just prior to the cease fire, at a cost to the American taxpayer of $500,000 per airplane). The most sensational scandal of 1974, however, was the siphoning off into speculative hoards of 150,000 tons of fertilizer, another gift of the American taxpayer, by a group of importers and officials, including Thieu's brother-in-law, who sold it off later at high black-market prices.

Corruption is thus neither new to "free" South Vietnam nor even more blatant than in earlier years. It has become more important only in that it is now a political issue. As long as the Red Peril could induce the U.S. public to swallow a steady expansion in the corruption dividend, and the media cooperated (as they still do) in playing down the "normal" looting by our client elites, the war bureaucracy could continue to exploit this device to buy the services of Thieu, Marcos, Park, Suharto, and the like. Inflation and the declining real incomes of the majority at home, and a

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Jeep burning during a demonstration on October 20, 1974, in downtown Saigon

certain amount of disillusionment with our political leadership and its crusades for freedom, have made this purchase money somewhat less freely available.

In an age of the declining corruption dividend, a Mr. Clean, an honest Quisling, is needed, not to bring the South Vietnamese house into real order – this would be incompatible with primary U.S. objectives – but rather to provide a refurbished image to enlarge the flow of dollars and to provide the basis for further escalation when the rot continues to spread. Just as in 1954, when the Max Lerners, Arthur Schlesinger Jrs., and the mass media were enthralled with the new honest mandarin Diem, so the search is once again on for the honest Quisling. John Paul Vann observed in 1965 that "The game of musical chairs has permitted many occupants of the driver's seat, but little perceptible change in direction." He understood, fully well, the internal structural roots of this failure to change in direction, but never grasped either the U.S. vested interest in the established direction (or, for that matter, the public relations direction or the public relations function of the game of musical chairs and the honest Quisling.

[ESCALATION AND RESPONSE]

The long U.S. effort to impose its will in Indochina continues in only slightly modified form today. The process has been repeated over and over again in a cyclic pattern, which has the following characteristic stages:

1) The U.S. seeks to impose the dictatorship of its choice;

Member of royal family of Vietnam demonstrates for release of political prisoners

Photos by Pham Kiet

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2) The Vietnamese respond, calling forth charges of "aggression" on the part of the U.S. government and its minions in the press and the "responsible" segment of the intellectual community, which labor to provide the ideological basis for escalated U.S. intervention;

3) Despite the escalated violence, the U.S. and its clients suffer a partial defeat;

4) The U.S. initiates a new cycle from stage one, now operating from a weaker position than before, despite the further demolition of Vietnamese society.

Since we are now in the midst of another cycle a brief look at earlier phases may be helpful in assessing what may come next.

The first cycle extended until 1954, as the U.S. backed the French effort to reimpose colonial rule. Stage three was reached with Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva Accords. The U.S. then initiated a new cycle, replacing the ineffectual puppet Bao Dai by the more dynamic and repressive Diem, whose policies "thoroughly terrified the Vietnamese peasants, and detracted significantly from the regime's popularity," in the words of the Pentagon historians. In May 1959 the Lao Dong Party in Hanoi agreed to support an armed response to the massive violence of the U.S. and its client regime. Of course, every hypocrite in Washington and the press began to wail about the perfidy of the Communists who refused to sit quietly while the U.S. wiped them out by force. The Diem regime was unable to sustain itself even with mounting intervention under Kennedy, and by 1963 was beginning to collapse from within, much as the Thieu regime is disintegrating today. Diem was then pushed aside, and the U.S. initiated a new cycle of escalating violence with the aid of a succession of mainly military leaders, culminating in Thieu.

Throughout this entire period, the U.S. has always offered the Vietnamese a simple choice: capitulation to the U.S.-imposed government or further U.S. violence. Even a John Paul Vann stated (for internal army consumption only) that "it is a scathing indictment of our political awareness that we have sat idly by while many patriotic and non-Communist Vietnamese were literally forced to ally themselves with a Communist dominated movement in the belief that it was their only chance to secure a better government." Of course we did not "sit idly by" while these Vietnamese joined the NLF in search of a better society; rather, we organized their torture and slaughter on an immense scale. But Vann does correctly emphasize that the U.S. not only refused the South Vietnamese independence, but also insisted that they submit to thieving scoundrels. It was this ultimate injustice that has guaranteed the continued renewal of the resistance.

Characteristically, as U.S.-sponsored terror failed to control the abused population, the concept of "aggression" was dusted off. The U.S. intervention of 1948-54 was accompanied by a delightful Acheson-liberal, imperialist brew of forms of "aggression" that we were resisting: the "aggressive designs" of Communist China, which had the audacity to send supplies to the Vietnamese; the "internal aggression" by the agents of World Communism who were threatening the "territorial integrity" of Indochina, which was being protected by the French! When the Vietnamese began to fight back in 1959-60, the Kennedy Administration produced its *White Paper* of 1961, *A Threat to the Peace,* featuring alleged "aggression from the North." The still more massive yellow hordes of China were again invoked as American aggression intensified in later years. "North Vietnamese aggression" became a propaganda staple after the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam led, as anticipated by American strategists, to direct North Vietnamese intervention in the South.

Despite the incredible violence perpetrated against the Vietnamese in the Sixties, the U.S. was not able to prevail. The Tet offensive in 1968 – stage three of the cycle – was a stunning military setback for the U.S., as it was compelled to initiate a new cycle of aggression under difficult domestic and international conditions. The device selected was the post-Tet Accelerated Pacification Program, designed to beat the South into submission through intensified U.S. terrorism. The peripheral bombing of the North, with its dangerous international ramifications, was dropped, and the U.S. air armadas were dispatched instead to neutral Laos to pursue more vigorously the "secret" war against the Pathet Lao – "secret" only in that the U.S. press refused to publish unchallengeable reports revealing the character and extent of this vicious war. In the South, "Vietnamization" began, as proposed by the planners of the Johnson Administration, in an effort to replace the disintegrating (and costly) American ground forces with native mercenaries, a return to the classic imperial pattern that had been abandoned by the U.S. in 1965. Under Nixon and Kissinger, U.S. terror operations in the South were further intensified, with such operations as *Speedy Express* and *Bold Mariner,* perhaps the most murderous of the war, initiated in January 1969. The war was immediately extended to Cambodia by Nixon and Kissenger, again "in secret," thanks to the self-censorship of the press, and intensified in Laos. The Vietnamese response of 1972 demolished a large proportion of the reestablished American positions in the South. Once again, this was generally described in the mass media as "North Vietnamese aggression" against "South Vietnam," the latter held to be synonymous with the Quisling faction.

After four years of war, Nixon and Kissinger finally conceded partial defeat. For several months they attempted to sabotage the agreements announced over Hanoi radio on October 26, 1972, just before the Presidential elections. After the failure of the Christmas bombings, they finally accepted these agreements (trivially modified) in Paris in January 1973, pretending, naturally, to have won a great victory. At this point, any rational observer should have expected the U.S. to initiate a new cycle of aggression, as it did. We return to this below in our discussion of the Paris Agreements.

[INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER]

The current cycle of U.S. intervention was initiated just as the Paris Agreements to end the war were being signed in January 1973. The obvious comparison is to the history of the Geneva Accords in 1954. The American response to the earlier agreement had three facets: a public position, a secret program, and steps

(Continued on page 66)

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The Advertising Council:

Selling Lies...

What do you think you could do with half-a-billion dollars worth of free advertising a year, especially if you were charged with using it to serve the public interest?

Would you use more than $15 million to "rally the country behind the President's [anti-inflation] measures"? Would you use $40 million to tell the nation that the man on the street starts pollution, and not the smoke-belching, poison-pouring industries? Would you use more than $10 million to encourage factory workers to be more "productive" for their employers? And how much would you devote to advertising that marijuana leads to a "loss of desire to work, to compete, to face challenges" and to a "compulsive" drug use?

Well, someone does have half-a-billion dollars in advertising at their disposal, practically all the free ads available in America, and those are some examples of how they use it. If you watch TV (especially late night) or read magazines (other than this one) you've seen their work many times always ending up with the logo of the Advertising Council.

The council is a non-profit corporation funded and directed by America's bonafide Captains of Industry. It produces those campaigns and dozens of others like them "in the public interest" on behalf of industry and the executive branch of the federal government. The Ad Council is by far the largest advertiser in the world. Since its formation in 1941, the council has used more than $7 billion worth of free "public service" advertising donated by television, radio, newspapers, and magazines.

Unfortunately, what the public thinks is good for it is not always the same as what the directors of the Ad Council believe. The board of directors of the Ad Council is a who's who of big business, including the media (NBC, CBS, ABC, Metromedia, Time Inc., etc.), the advertising agencies (J. Walter Thompson, which was so helpful in shaping the mentality of the Nixon men at the White House, Young & Rubicam, etc.), and the nation's major advertisers (Proctor and Gamble, all the Generals: Motors,

by Bruce Howard

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Mills, Electric, Foods, and others). No public interest groups are represented on the Ad Council's board.

Describing itself as "free enterprise's effective communication machine," the Ad Council has managed to monopolize more than 80 percent of the scarce public service time on network television, and the lion's share of free space and time in local television, radio, newspapers, and national magazines. In the past 30 years, the Ad Council has virtually created the landscape of public service advertising in America – traffic safety and seat belts, the United Way, the Red Cross, and, of course, that masterful cartoon conscience, Smokey the Bear. But as is often the case when General Motors and its colleagues get together to help the American people, there is more than meets the eye in the Ad Council's good will.

[WHO COUNSELS THE COUNCIL]

A closer look at the council's advertisements shows they are carefully designed to preserve the status quo and promote the image and interests of big business and big government. What makes the situation worse is the sorry scarcity of free public service time and space. The powers that run the Ad Council are the same ones that glut prime time with their paid ads. The media dregs scraps – the gaps in the back pages, pre-dawn and late-night television spots – are then thrown to public service ads. But the big advertisers are not prepared to let even these scraps go to their own critics.

Says Thomas Asher, executive director of the Media Access Project, a public interest law firm in Washington, D.C., "The community forces are forced to capture attention with extraordinary protest activity because they are muscled out of the public airways and print media by the Ad Council. The council then flacks for the power brokers of business and government, who already have ready access to the media in advertising and news broadcasts."

In a sizzling expose in [*More*] magazine in March, 1972, Tom Asher, went public with his long-time war against the Ad Council tyranny, but even with continued pressure from Asher, Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal (D-NY), and a scattering of other Congressmen and public interest groups, the public service announcement (PSA) situation has only slightly improved.

The main problem, they say, is that there is so precious little public service advertising, mainly because it is not required by law. No money-making operation, including the media, goes out of its way to provide free services. Magazines and newspapers are under absolutely no legal obligation to run free ads, and many in fact donate little or none.

Broadcasters, on the other hand, are required by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to state the number of public service announcements (PSAs) they have run in a sample week, and the number they intend to run in an average week in the next three years. Although the FCC sets no minimum number for PSAs, it could deny a license renewal if the local station were deemed not to have fulfilled its obligation to serve the community. So far, though numerous community groups have submitted challenges, no station has lost its license because it ran too few PSAs. As a result, stations donate less than three percent of total air time for PSAs. It is this fraction that the Ad Council has effectively tied up.

On network television, the Ad Council's spots account for more than 80 percent of all PSAs. (In addition to the 25 major campaigns the Ad Council produces, each month it distributes a bulletin to local stations listing the other campaigns it "endorses." Network executives acknowledge that such endorsement is a virtual prerequisite for being aired.) Using the anti-trust lawyer's rule of thumb for monopoly – control of two-thirds or more of a market – *the Ad Council has clearly monopolized the public service* market.

The situation on the local level is a little better, but not much. Local stations run PSAs in addition to the ones that come down from the network, and many station managers like to use locally oriented ads. But the ubiquitous Ad Council still swamps local stations with its national ads, arguing that they do have "local import." Interviews with station managers indicated that they use many of the Ad Council ads instead of local ones because a) they are more professionally executed than local ads; b) they are bland, and do not arouse viewers to complain or demand response time; c) local groups would often need to use the station's own facilities, personnel, and art departments, because they cannot afford to produce their own ads; and d) the board of directors of the council includes the networks, the advertising agencies, and the major advertisers. When Proctor and Gamble and the parent network, et al. ask for free time, well, it's hard to bite the hand.

["THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE"]

Besides the industries and agencies on the board of directors, the Ad Council also has an Industries Advisory Committee and a Public Policy Committee. The latter consists of 27 people who, according to an Ad Council promotional leaflet, "represent the public sector [and] act as the council's 'public conscience.' " The committee has the same power that most citizen advisory committees have in corporations run by a board of directors composed entirely of businessmen: little or none. Its impotence is made evermore ironic by the high profile the Ad Council attempts to give it.

The Industries Advisory Committee, on the other hand, is in charge of raising money for the council, and it has the power that most revenue-producing branches have in corporations run by a board of directors composed entirely of businessmen. Thus the Ad Council has a nice Freudian triumvirate – a superego-public conscience, a single-minded id (the Industries Advisory Committee), and an ego (the decision-making board of directors) that, in this case, curiously resembles the id.

[HELPING THE WHITE HOUSE WIN]

A fourth, and not so silent partner of the Ad Council's board is the federal government, which often uses the council as a flack for its various projects. Although the White House is not represented on the Ad Council's board of directors, the businessmen's group has been patriotically receptive to White

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...And Selling Truth

"There are two kinds of people," says Frank Greer, director of San Francisco's Public Media Center, "those with money and those with something to say. We're trying to rectify that situation." PMC is one of the most active of over 500 groups in the United States now involved in some type of media reform work—all of them trying to increase the number of types of messages communicated by the mass media. They reflect a movement that has been growing since the mid-Sixties, a movement that has included challenges to the renewal of local TV stations' FCC licenses on the grounds of racist or sexist policies, open media committees negotiating for the right of citizens to speak on local broadcast media, and public interest advertising agencies which turn around the sophisticated techniques of modern mass communications to advance issues normally frozen out of the commerical media. And despite limited resources, and limited cooperation from much of the media, the scope and effectiveness of these efforts have steadily increased.

A landmark event for the public interest advertising movement took place back in 1966, the year Congress seemed ready to authorize a series of dams on the Colorado River that would have inundated much of the Grand Canyon. The Sierra Club paid a small San Francisco advertising agency, Freeman, Mander & Gossage, to direct a campaign against the bill. Jerry Mander, who was to become an important figure in future campaigns, designed an ad headlined "Shall We Flood the Sistine Chapel so the Tourists Can Get Closer to the Ceiling?" The ad included a coupon readers could use to inform public officials of how they felt: Interior Secretary Stewart Udall received 20,000 coupons demanding the project be dropped. The dam project collapsed and Rep. Wayne Aspinall, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, gave the ads credit for defeat of the plan.

The Grand Canyon victory gave Freeman, Mander & Gossage considerable prominence, which they followed up over the next few years. Ads produced by the agency are credited with preserving a redwood forest in California, preventing miners and dam builders from encroaching on North Cascades National Park near Seattle, stopping Texas oil millionaire Lamar Hunt from converting Alcatraz Island into a space-age Disneyland, and helping to block development of the SST.

By 1972, a number of activists in the movement for public interest advertising had come together in San Francisco to form Public Interest Communications—later to become PMC. Jerry Mander, dress manufacturer, Alvin Duskin, who had financed some of Mander's most successful ads, and Dugald Stermer, former art director of RAMPARTS, were joined by Frank Greer and Roger Hickey, who had been involved in Project Unsell, a powerful nation-wide advertising campaign directed against the Vietnam War. Armed with a $50,000 grant from the Stern Fund, the new group aimed toward a continuing, aggressive presence in developing and distributing alternative messages through the media.

PIC's first major achievement came later that year, in response to the U.S. Christmas terror bombing of North Vietnam, which included the destruction of Hanoi's Bach Mai Hospital. Medical Aid to Indochina approached PIC and offered to pay for ads in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *New York Times*, which would assail the bombing and also solicit money for medical supplies for North Vietnam. During the two years that followed, the ad brought in nearly $600,000—largely because the ad was reprinted by local anti-war groups across the country.

But Public interest advertising groups are not simply ad agencies with a specialty market, delivering ad copy or 60-second TV spots for a few. They view themselves as responsive to—indeed, part of—broader movements for social and economic change. Across the country, small agencies, consumer and political organizations, and ad hoc groups are making possible grass roots responses to the economic and political premises of commercial advertising which have long dominated the field of mass communication. In Los Angeles, Public Communications, Inc. has produced messages for television on auto safety, deceptive advertising for pain remedies, water pollution, drug abuse, and voter registration. PCI has also produced ads for print media on food stamps, harassment by credit agencies, and airline overbooking. (PCI also functions as a public interest law firm.) In nearby Westwood, the Public Advertising Council—operating out of a small bungalow with a staff of two—has produced radio spots for the Discharge Upgrading Project criticizing punitive discharges of Vietnam veterans; radio spots for the Citizens Action Project on discriminatory credit and loan practices; radio and TV ads for the National Sharecropper Fund on the problems of rural farming; and a TV ad for the People's Bicentennial Commission on the atrophy of the Bill of Rights.

At San Francisco's Public Media Center—the successor to Public Inter-

(Continued on page 64)

by Henry Weinstein

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House politics. Curiously, the Ad Council by-laws say that it will "accept no subsidy from Government and (will) remain independent of it" and will "remain non-partisan and non-political."

Of the council's 25 major campaigns each year, more than a third are usually associated with boosting and popularizing government projects. The campaigns range from peddling low-interest U.S. Government Savings Bonds, to pushing recruitment for the National Guard and the Armed Forces Reserve, to promoting the Justice Department's incredible anti-crime campaigns in 1971-72.

An Ad Council release describes one of these: *"Help Prevent Crime. This campaign thus far has concentrated on auto theft prevention; the advertising urges motorists to fight juvenile delinquency and prevent crime by locking their cars and taking their keys."*

And we thought the roots of crime were troubling and complex. Not at all. You can forget about bad schools, bad drugs, bad housing, unemployment, and despair. Just don't forget your keys.

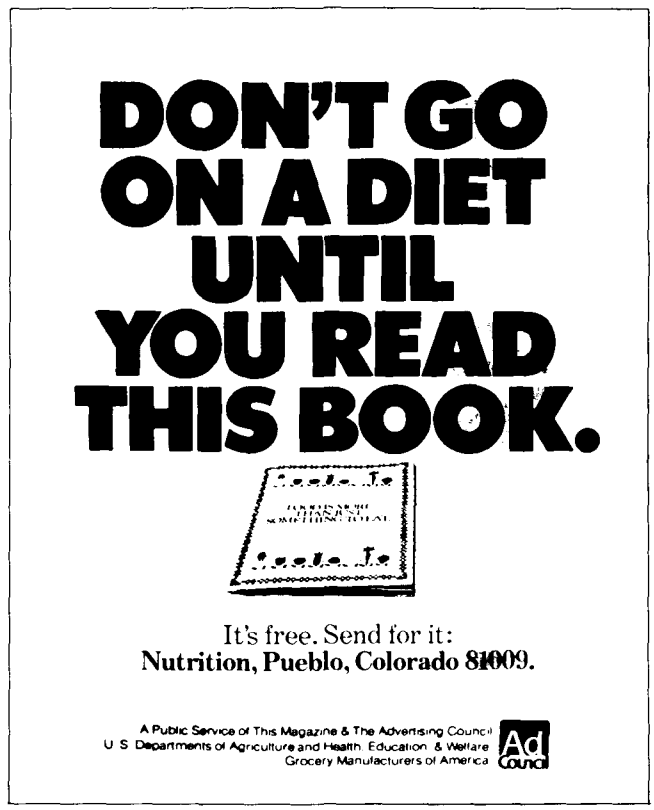
When the Ad Council is not distracting the public from the problems that the government should be dealing with but isn't, it is promoting the counter-productive efforts the government does mount – the war on marijuana, the Vietnam War, the WIN program.

One Ad Council cheerleader campaign for the White House was challenged by citizens. President Nixon decided that the nation needed to hear more about the plight of the American prisoners-of-war in Southeast Asia. With secret financial support from the Republican National Committee, an organization called the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia asked the Ad Council to sponsor a "Write Hanoi" campaign. The campaign was announced, and then mysteriously dropped. The Ad Council then designed a new campaign that deleted the letter-writing pitch. On April 14, 1971, the White House sent the council a telegram of support.

Four months later, an anti-war group of POW families called Families for Immediate Release, which was angered because the campaign implied support for continuing the war, began asking television stations for equal time to rebut the council's ads. The Ad Council campaign began officially in March 1972, but few stations carried it because of the equal time demands of the Families for Immediate Release.

Currently, the Ad Council is launching another outrageously partisan effort on behalf of the Ford White House. On Sept. 27, President Ford met with Ad Council president Robert Keim to promote his Whip Inflation Now (WIN) campaign. In an election campaign season when many Republican candidates were running on Ford's WIN program, and many Democrats were running against it, the Ad Council began pushing the campaign. The council designed the WIN buttons, and distributed plans for reproducing them free to businesses around the country.

Keim gushes with enthusiasm when he speaks of the council's WIN project. "It will be a special drive. [It will] rally the country behind the President's measures." Says Lewis Shollenberger, vice president of the Ad Council, and the man working with the White House on the WIN project: "Normally it takes six months to get a campaign moving, but we're trying to get this one rolling in six weeks. We're going all out. This will be one of our greatest efforts ever."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Ad Council

Russell Freeburg, President Ford's special assistant coordinating the WIN campaign, defended the "cooperation" of the Ad Council. "The President is President of all the people," Freeburg said while his boss was campaigning for Republican candidates in the Midwest, "and he is trying to solve inflation. Sure, if he solves inflation, it will help him politically, but if the Democrats would rather have us go down the drain so that they can win the next election, well, that's pretty short-sighted."

On the other hand, Freeburg is being a little short-memoried. He says that the Ad Council WIN media blitz will be based on "inflation-fighting" points in Ford's Kansas City speech of October 15, 1974. But he does not mention that this speech was considered so one-sided that the Democrats were given a free half-hour during prime time television to respond to it.

Speaking on behalf of the Democratic majority in Congress, Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) delivered a speech entitled, "The State of the Economy – A Democratic View" – on NBC. In it he said, ". . . to a great many of us in Congress – and to many, many Americans around the country – the President's economic policy and his Kansas City speech raise serious questions . . . admonitions to 'balance your family budget' when the family paycheck will not cover bare necessities beg the question of what we must do, and to families which are really squeezed, it is cool advice."

And yet, the Ad Council and the White House are now basically producing this "advice" for mass consumption by the public service ad viewing audience. One wonders if, under the fairness doctrine, poor Ed Muskie will have to hang around the studio and rebut them one by one.

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Give this card to someone you love.
I love you
Wear your seat belt
Safety belts, when you think about it, it's a nice way to say I love you.

[AMOTIVATIONAL SYNDROMES]

The Drug Abuse Program produced by the council was also directed almost entirely by the White House, in flagrant violation of the council's by-laws. After requesting the Ad Council to handle the program, and then advancing the council $150,000 for the initial out-of-pocket expenses, the White House went on to design and direct the campaign, which was officially sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health under HEW.

In June, 1969, Charles B. (Bud) Wilkinson, special consultant to President Nixon, wrote "A Supplement to the White House Proposal to the Ad Council for a Major Campaign on Drug Abuse." In it, he said "The White House will continue to assume a strong leadership role in the campaign, and the National Institute of Mental Health has been designated as the contracting agency. It was agreed that the coordinated Federal campaign would be conducted in cooperation with the National Coordinating Council for Drug Abuse Education and Information and that the new campaign will build from the base established in the National Institute of Mental Health public service program. The development of the campaign and its execution will be subject to review at all stages by a committee composed of one of the designated representatives of each of the three government departments, and the National Coordinating Council under the chairmanship of a White House representative." Notice that there is no mention of the Advertising Council, which is supposedly running the campaign, and which is "independent of the Government."

By the way, it was this campaign that warned of the "social maladjustment" and the "amotivational syndromes" of marijuana, while adding that "not everyone who uses a mind-altering chemical becomes dependent upon it. Alcohol is one common example of this point . . . The majority of persons who drink do not harm themselves or those around them." Before you ask, the president of Joseph E. Seagram and Sons, Inc. is on the council's board of directors.

[TIN CAN ECOLOGY]

But the Ad Council is best known for its campaigns on behalf of non-profit organizations, many of which happen to be funded and directed by big business. The classic example of this is the council's $40 million a year campaign for Keep America Beautiful, Inc., an anti-litter organization directed and funded by the American Can Company, and other manufacturers of cans and bottles, beer and soft drinks, and steel, glass, and aluminum, all of whom are distressed by the litterbugs who pollute America's environment.

The KAB ads are the best produced and most controversial ones run by the Ad Council. The KAB ad portraying the Indian who sheds a tear when someone throws a bag of litter at his feet won two Clio awards for the best television commercial.

At the same time, however, the Sierra Club and four other environmentalist groups have resigned from KAB's citizen advisory council because KAB has been actively opposing the only proven curb of litter – legislation what requires the use of returnable beer and soft drink containers. Oregon passed a so-called bottle bill in 1971, and has since reported a 80 percent decline in the number of cans and bottles littered in the state. Similar legislation is also supported by the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Energy Office, and the League of Women Voters because it would save energy and valuable resources, control litter, and reduce prices for consumers. Such savings for the consumer, however, would cost the canners, bottlers, and steel, glass, and aluminum manufacturers who run KAB millions of dollars in profits. And so KAB, the avowed leader in the war on litter, opposes the only legislation likely to do the job.

Although this controversy has been brewing for years, the fight shifted to high gear in January 1974, when KAB president (and former executive for the brewing industry) Roger Powers testified in the California State Legislature against a bottle bill there. Soon thereafter, the Sierra Club, the Izaak Walton League, the National Parks and Conservation Association, the Outdoor Writers Association of America, and the Wilderness Society resigned from the KAB advisory council.

In its letter of resignation, dated July 8, the National Parks and Conservation Association wrote: "In fact, it seems that the KAB, Inc. is using its achievements in litter prevention education to cover its support for the container industries' efforts to oppose beverage container refund-deposit systems to restrict litter."

In its April 25 letter of resignation, the Sierra Club asked if KAB was not "merely a front for container manufacturers." In August the KAB advisory council unanimously passed a resolution calling for KAB itself to an-

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nounce publicly that it is not opposed to returnable bottle legislation. If it does not change its position soon, several other members of the advisory council, including the EPA and the League of Women Voters, have indicated they will resign too.

[INFAMOUS "IRON EYES"]

KAB's commercials, even one starring the infamous "Chief Iron Eyes Cody," as Ad Council execs call him, subtly promote the industry's war against returnables. Says Pat Taylor, a lobbyist with an environmental group in Washington D.C. called Environmental Action, and a leader of the pro-bottle bill forces: "The commericals try to create the myth that people are to blame for litter, and not the industries that push the throw-away containers, and thus people should be made to change, and not industries. KAB argues against bottle legislation that's been proved to cut litter, and then it spouts its slogan 'People start pollution, and people can stop it.' "

More important, perhaps, is the KAB role in the "one-from-column A, one-from-column-B" effect that frustrates so many community groups trying to get public service time. That is, most station managers try to spread out their PSA time among as many issues as possible, partly so that when someone asks "What about problem X?" they can point to the anti-X ads they already ran. Environmentalists trying to get their own PSAs aired have complained that many stations have cited the KAB ads in rejecting the requests.

There is reason to believe the Ad Council knew it was pre-empting serious environmental concerns when it decided to produce the KAB campaign. In 1969 a subcommittee of the council's Industries Advisory Committee was formed to "advise how the council should proceed on the anti-pollution campaign." The subcommittee was composed of the chairmen of Allied Chemicals, Bethlehem Steel, Kraftco., American Can Co., and U.S. Steel – all of them intimately knowledgeable about pollution. The subcommittee carefully reviewed all the sources of pollution in the country, and through a stroke of group-think genius, decided to focus on the real colossus of environmental destruction – litter-bugs. The principle is rather elegant: if everyone is responsible, no one is responsible.

[THE ZEN OF AGRIBUSINESS]

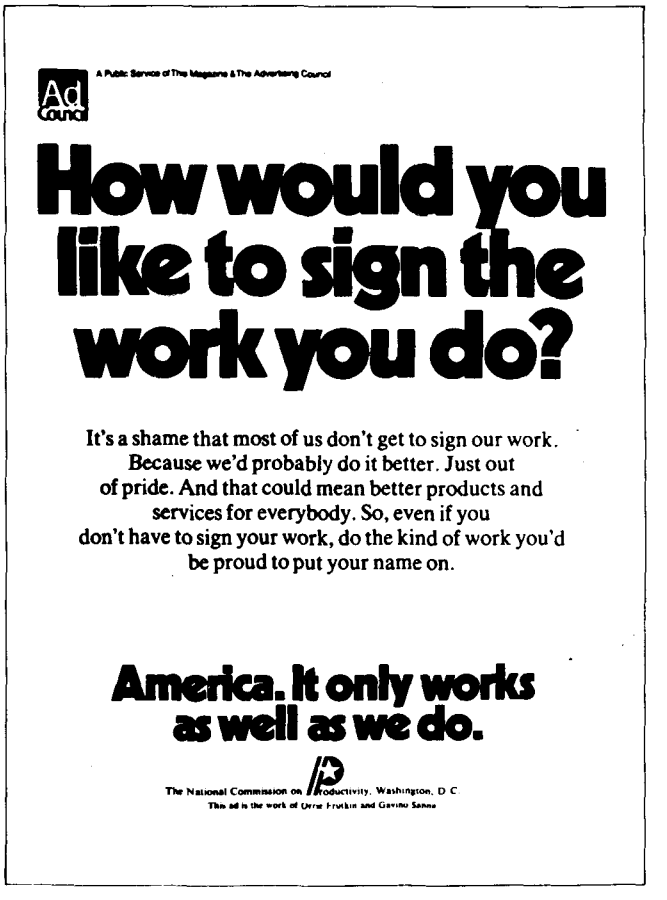
The Ad Council has produced dozens of other campaigns that serve the interests of big business. In the Minority Business Enterprise, for example, business takes a modest bow for its determined struggle against racism. One ad featured a full-face shot of General Motors board chairman James M. Roche, with the headline "Here's why Mr. Roche of General Motors thinks investing in minority business is just plain good business." The ad copy praised GM for accepting Federal money to set up "one of the first Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies (MESBICs) to be licensed by the Small Business Administration." As [*More*] magazine reported in March 1972, "The MESBIC program is little more than a charade that finances big business subsidiaries that serve as decoys to industry's often discriminatory hiring and promotion practices." Nevertheless, underneath Mr. Roche's beneficent visage was the information that the ad was "donated for the public good." What's good for General Motors . . .

In the JOBS campaign, sponsored by the National Alliance of Businessmen, we learn of the accomplishments of business in hiring the poor, a success that seems all the more magical since it is achieved while unemployment rates still soar. The Technical Education and Training Campaign, run for the U.S. Office of Education and the Manpower Institute, encourages students to take up technical training because "technicians earn . . . as much or more than the average college graduate." Although this may be true for people just out of school, it is doubtful that it holds in the long run.

Even our furry fire fighter, Smokey the Bear, is not a total innocent. Environmentalists view forest fires as far less severe a threat to America's timber resources than clear-cutting and indiscriminate logging by paper and wood products companies, but the ads instead say careless people destroy forests, not careless industries.

The Smokey campaign, by the way, is coordinated by James M. Montgomery of the Gulf States Paper Corporation. Meanwhile, when the Sierra Club approaches a broadcaster with environment ads, they are told "Oh, forests, we got them covered with Smokey the Bear."

Perhaps the most blatant pro-business ad campaign by the Ad Council is the productivity program ("How would


A Public Service of The Magazine & The Advertising Council
Ad Council
How would you like to sign the work you do?
It's a shame that most of us don't get to sign our work. Because we'd probably do it better. Just out of pride. And that could mean better products and services for everybody. So, even if you don't have to sign your work, do the kind of work you'd be proud to put your name on.
America. It only works as well as we do.
The National Commission on Productivity, Washington, D.C.
This ad is the work of Orrie Friedlich and Gavino Sanna

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you like to sign the work you do?"), which urges laborers to work harder for their employers. As yet, there is no council campaign urging employers to pay their employees more. Such "Work! Work!" campaigns cost thousands when attempted by individual factories and industries, and are usually prevented by watchful unions who know from experience what a "speed up" drive can mean. But, thanks to the Ad Council, the campaign is carried multi-media, nation-wide, and free, "as a public service."

But the masterwork of all Ad Council manipulations has to be its Food, Nutrition, and Health campaign, which is sponsored by HEW, the Department of Agriculture, and the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc. It is coordinated by an executive of General Foods Corp. The ads urge viewers to send in for a free booklet entitled "Food Is More Than Just Something to Eat."

The booklet neglects to mention that Americans eat too much cereal, sugar, potato chips, processed foods, etc. Rather, the helpful manual chirps "Fresh or frozen? Canned or dried? Instant or from scratch? Which foods have the nutrients? Which do not? They all do." The message is don't worry, it's all good: The Zen of Agri-business.

Robert Choate, director of a group called Children, Media and Merchandising in Washington, D.C., tried to distribute ads to show the other side of the nutrition debate, but without much success. "We produced the ads that said Americans ate too many snack foods, but the networks wouldn't let them on. They said they were too controversial. The local stations wouldn't touch them either, or else ran them at 2 a.m.

And finally, the Ad Council produced a campaign for the National Safety Council (funded and directed by Ford, GM, et al.) which pushes the use of seat belts. The Insurance Institute for Highway Safety conducted a study in 1972 that showed commercials asking people to use seat belts were totally ineffective. The report concluded, "The television messages had no effect whatsoever on use."

Why did the Ad Council continue to squander free advertising on the seat belt campaign after it received the institute's study? The answer lies in the June 18, 1974 *Status Report* of the Safety Institute, entitled "Auto Makers Renew Passive Restraint Attack." The report describes how the auto industry, which has near control of the Safety Council, as well as a hefty representation on the Ad Council's board, has been actively lobbying against the replacement of seat belts by "passive restraints," such as automatically inflatable air bags.

The Ad Council abuses public service time: 1) by giving the impression that business and government are doing their job to help America (Minority Business Enterprise, JOBS, Jobs for Veterans, etc.); 2) by diverting attention towards window dressing solutions to serious problems (seat belts rather than unsafe cars, litter rather than institutionalized pollution, locked cars rather than sources of crime); 3) by using its prestige and economic clout to corner scarce public access; 4) by filling public service time with ads that are so bland as to have no impact on the status quo; and 5) by foisting the responsibility for government- and business-caused problems onto the individual, thus reducing social

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and political problems to the level of personal failings.

Such policy is actually the modus operandi of advertisers, networks, and stations – to maximize their profits, they have decided to use television as almost a purely entertainment medium. Disturbing documentaries, scathing exposes, and truly intelligent programing are kept to a minimum – the top priority is the continued blissful narcosis of the viewer. Television makes money by getting viewers to purchase advertisers' merchandise, and marketing science shows that anything above mild arousal is not conducive to a buying mentality. So with the slick, bland Ad Council advertisement, the broadcasters get the best of both worlds – the viewer is not aroused or offended by a serious, productive use of the PSA time by public interest groups, and the PSA commitment to the FCC and the community is numerically filled.

["CORRUPTING THE INTENT"]

The networks and broadcasters put up with and support this waste of their PSA time because they do not want to offend their viewers or their advertisers. For this reason, controversial PSAs are never aired by networks and most local stations. "If we accept yours," they say, "we'd have to let the other side respond." (For years Planned Parenthood was denied public service space for this reason.)

But according to the FCC, controversiality is not grounds for rejection. Said an FCC spokesman, "There's no reason why a PSA ad can't be controversial. If a controversial ad runs, and someone demands a chance to respond, then let him respond." Unfortunately, while controversiality is not good grounds for rejection, the networks and stations do not legally need any grounds at all. They can reject any ad for any reason they want.

This is the first aspect of the system that critics would like to change. "Let's open the public ads to the public," says Asher. "Let's air all the opinions, and especially those of the people who don't have access to the media already. If things get controversial, then the system's working. Just try to keep a balance."

"The problem now," he says, "is that we have one-sided controversial ads that are being passed off as non-controversial. Viewers are getting the establishment view, bland maybe, but establishment. The voices of change are vir-

Currently, all three networks and most local stations publicly refuse to air "controversial" PSAs. This policy came into question last winter when the so-called "gas crisis" (known to others as the excess profits campaign) crippled the nation. The oil producers blitzed the country with a brand of advertising – the paid public opinion influencer. With their huge resources – substantially enhanced by the crisis they claimed to be trying to solve – the oil manufacturers flooded the airways with paid ads spouting their party line.

In response, Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.) and certain citizen groups, including the Public Media Center in California, urged stations to give equal time to the other side of the issue. No networks, and few stations, complied – most said the ads were too controversial, and that a response to the industries was not required.

Although the incident dramatized the inadequacy of the present PSA and equal time provisions, it was encouraging in some respects. For the first time, citizen groups were finding the necessary resources to produce professionally done ads on a national-scale to compete with the Ad Council. At the same time, the oil industry was out in the open buying media access to influence public opinion on its side of a political controversy. The industry in this case had no choice, of course, but the point was that it was not hiding behind the cloak of non-profit fronts and PSAs.

[TIME FOR THE PEOPLE]

Although the counter-ads disappeared with the "crisis," the pressures of change have not subsided. A growing number of genuine public interest groups have accumulated the polish, expertise, and determination to force the issue by demanding effective access to media time. Congressman Rosenthal has told RAMPARTS that he is going to petition the FCC to open an investigation into the entire public service system, with special attention to the monopoly position of the Advertising Council.

"By grabbing the major chunk of public service time," the Congressman said, "the Ad Council is preventing the carrying out of the true purpose of public service time, which is to permit those elements in the community without the economic and political clout to communicate properly to tell their story. The Ad Council and the networks have corrupted the original intent of public service time by turning it into a free bonus for the special interests."

"The Ad Council," he continued, "is a propagandist for business and government, and with staggering control of the media, it not only makes sure its own side of the story is told, but that the other side isn't. The public has no meaningful access to the media. We're not disputing industry's right to tell its side, but just its monopoly of the time meant for the people."

Others, including David McCall, president of the prestigious Madison Avenue advertising from of McCaffrey and McCall, have called for the end of the Ad Council. "Now is the time for the Advertising Council to disband," he said in an address to the American Association of Advertising Agencies in its annual meeting in 1972. "It is too old, and it is too heavily encrusted with establishment points of view."

We should not have to wait for another crisis like the gas shortage to get the public voice into public service advertising. Even when the public is not clutching desperately at the brink of disaster, advertisers and broadcasters should be obliged to produce and air their messages for free. In the last 200 years, power in the United States has shifted slowly but inexorably to big business and big government. Now, by insisting on a media more open to the people, we could help to celebrate our birthday by starting to turn back that trend.

Bruce Howard is a reporter for the Washington (D.C.) Star-News *and has been published in* New York Magazine, *the* New York Daily News, *and* Change Magazine.

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(A Special Supplement)

BUSING

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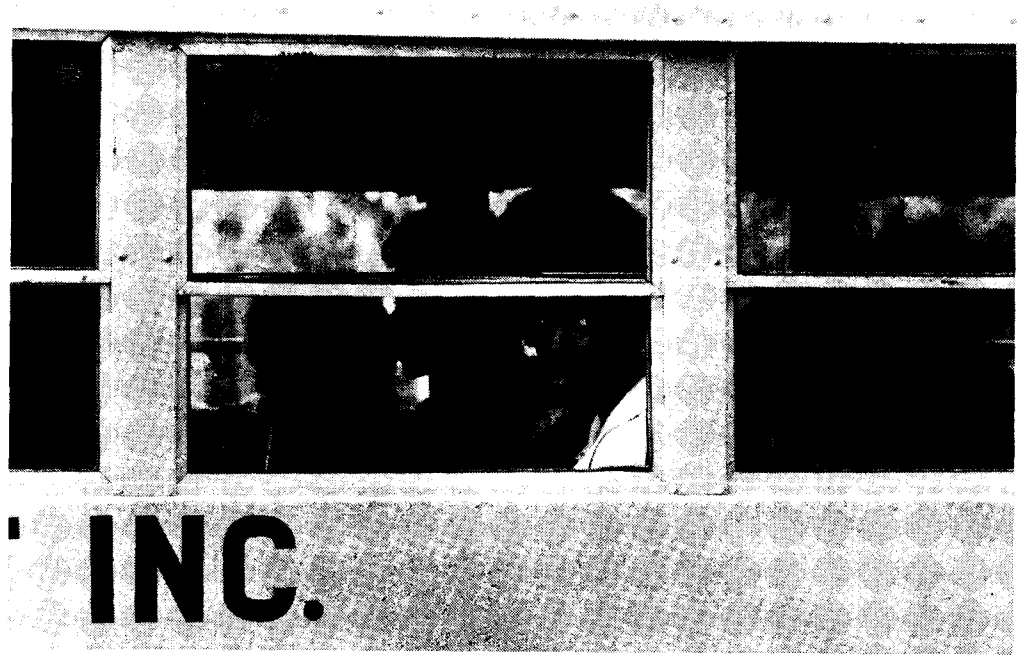

Busing into Southie

The troubles in Southie grew from ancient grudges and a bitterness beyond the battles of the day. Before busing, before desegregation, before black emigration from Dixie, South Boston was a racial and class ghetto where the Yankee brahmins contained the unruly Irishmen who intruded on the old genteel order. Like the dwellers of all ghettoes, the men and women of Southie are burdened with a combative pride that strikes wildly at every real slight or imagined threat from outside. Threatened and fearful, the people of Southie will attack anyone who diminishes the integrity of their poor world and meager lives.

They have been attacking black people for more than a century. Despite Massachusetts's celebrated liberalism, historian C. Vann Woodward wrote, "Whites in South Boston boasted in 1847 that 'not a single colored family' lived among them. Boston had her 'Nigger Hill' and her 'New Guinea' . . ." Things have not gotten much better in the intervening time. Two years ago, South Boston whites firebombed 50 Puerto Rican families in the D Street housing projects, banishing them from Southie like St. Patrick drove the snakes from Eire. A posse of white youngsters killed a black child. A two-year-old Puerto Rican boy was found hanging from a basketball net in a playground. Southie is a tight society of the white Irish and poor, and its streets are dangerous for those who violate its membership requirements.

The symbol and citadel of the white ghetto is South Boston High—called Southie, like its setting—a gloomy, ochre-brick fortress atop Dorchester Heights. From this fine promontory General Washington surveyed the British retreat from Boston Harbor. Below, the neat wooden houses along geometrically patterned street grids convey an orderly, traditional charm that belies the fermented outrage of the inhabitants. Close up, it comes more clear. The graffiti which used to exhort Southie's athletic teams to victory over rival schools now proclaim: "FUCK NIGGERS!" and "KEEP SOUTHIE WHITE!"

Busing "to achieve racially desegregated schools," in the formal rhetoric of the controversy, is not uniquely Southie's problem, nor is it the only problem in Southie. But the expression of white racism in the face of court-ordered integration of South Boston High is the dominant aspect of Boston's widespread opposition; and for Southie, busing is now the overriding threat. The other sections of the city, by class and culture less prone to blatant shows of anger and violence, follow Southie's lead. "We're not ashamed of Southie; we're grateful," a resident of the more upwardly mobile community of Roslindale told a visitor. If there is a vanguard in the movement of white power, Southie is its base.

What happened in South Boston might serve as a political cautionary tale, if not a moral lesson, for the rest of the country where school desegregation—and the busing that alone can achieve it—will be contested in the years ahead. The question is, however, what happened? The story of Southie does not follow all the predictable formulas with their categorical stereotypes. It is not Little Rock, or New Orleans, where stalwart liberals led naive Negroes through an attack by vicious honkies and their venal public officials. In fact, nothing is quite as it

by Andrew Kopkind

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should be; and that, really, is the trouble in Southie.

[THE SPIRIT OF '74]

Busing in Boston was not particularly planned or plotted, at least not according to any identifiable reason or design. Like Topsy it 'just growed.' Almost 10 years ago, in a fit of civil rights movement zeal, the State Legislature enacted a progressive "racial imbalance law" for school integration, which successive legislatures have sought to repeal, and which affected school boards have simply ignored. The southern states used the long time lags between court desegregation decisions and the final implementation orders to develop tactics of "massive resistance." In the same way, the die-hards of South Boston and other city neighborhoods used the years after the passage of the imbalance law to develop a politics of racism.

The phenomenal Spirit of Reaction is Louise Day Hicks, the indomitable avenging angel of the white lower classes who inevitably sweeps to electoral victory in South Boston and Dorchester (Speaker McCormick's old bailiwick), even while losing badly in city-wide *mano-a-mano* campaigns. There is a constant, deliverable anti-black vote in Boston—short of a majority—and Hicks knows all the tricks to make it her own.

Massive resistance worked so well in Boston that only a suit in Federal Court, brought by the NAACP as "insurance" against repeal or evasion of the state imbalance law, finally made the buses roll. The NAACP charged that the School Committee (that which passes for a Board of Education in Boston) had consistently conspired to maintain the segregation of schools. The suit had been lingering in litigation, and the School Committee was still temporizing on desegregation, when Federal Judge Arthur Garrity ruled, suddenly and unexpectedly last June, that integration should proceed with all deliberate speed. The white resistance was caught short without an avenue of attack—except in the streets.

The State Education Board hastily drew up a make-shift pupil-assignment plan for "Phase I" of Judge Garrity's order. It involved the busing of some 18,000 school children to only 80 of the city's more than 200 schools. It left untouched such potentially explosive areas as East Boston, a working-class Italian analogue to Southie. Eastie would get its busing in "Phase II," if it ever came to pass.

Boston braced for the worst. Reporters who ventured into the Southie projects came back with horrifying stories of stocked arsenals and impending war. Hicks (who is now in her City Council mode; she alternates between that and her U.S. Congress and School Committee modes) and the all-white, ethnic-Irish School Committee whipped up the faithful, while never quite conceding the inevitability of busing. The School Committee chairman, John Kerrigan, opportunely took as a delaying tactic the line that busing should include suburban as well as inner-city pupils—an impossible political proposition, no matter how reasonable (and right) it seems in theory. John Kerrigan has rarely been on the side of right reason, although opportunity is no stranger to him. With only a few weeks until school opened and as the threat of armed conflict increased, Mayor Kevin White enlisted the media, the politicians, and sports stars (of all colors) for an absurd campaign of propaganda and news management in the interests of racial peace and harmony.

"Hello, this is Louise Day Hicks (or Bobby Orr or Ed Brooke or Jim Plunkett)," the ubiquitous television commercials began, and went on in effect: "You may believe as I do that forced busing is the worst thing that's happened here since the Boston Massacre, but let's see if we can't all pull together and find a solution. It won't be easy, *but that never stopped Boston before.*"

With pep talks like that (some were quite as bad as my hypothetical version), someone ought to have stopped Boston before real trouble began, which came on opening day. There were boycotts and violence right from the start. Senator Kennedy was one of the early victims: he was egged and tomatoed like a Caesar salad when he tried to talk to a white mob in the plaza of Boston's eerie new Government Center.

"Why don't you send your crippled kid to school in a bus," they yelled at Teddy, and, "I hope they get you like they got your brothers!" Kennedy retreated into the J.F.K. Building amid cries of "Nigger lover!"

["THE REAL ISSUE IS NIGGERS"]

If you read the papers or listen to the media in Boston, that would have been the first time you would have discovered that "race" was an issue in the busing controversy. For years, the racists of Southie and the liberals in city government and the media have adopted or accepted the Nixonian convention that the issues in busing were "neighborhood schools" and "quality education." It's true enough that those issues are important; but they are secondary to what anyone with common sense knows, despite an inane refusal to admit it. It's a matter of whites against blacks.

When the mothers and fathers and kids of Southie threw stones and bricks and cursed out the black pupils in the buses from Roxbury, they were not arguing the merits of neighborhood schools or quality education. The battles intensified in the streets and in the school corridors as the media coolly announced that everything was proceeding smoothly, that the boycott was slowly dissipating, and that with a few minor exceptions, all was peaceful and harmonious in what bumper stickers still proclaim (from the post-McGovern days) as "Massachusetts—the One and Only."

Anyone on the inside, of course, knows that conditions in Southie were rapidly deteriorating. The residents there were only made more furious by the lies of the Mayor's Office and the media, by being treated as children who were not heeded even in the throes of their worst tantrum in history. Fed up with the official "rumor control center," Southie parents moved to set up their own office with the telephone number BOY-COTT.

Every day there were rallies, mass meetings, or demonstrations of one kind or another in Southie, central Boston, or the site of an enemy camp: the *Boston Globe,* the Mayor's Office, the archdiocesan seat of Cardinal Madeiros (who ordered parochial schools to refuse places to white refugees from integrated schools), the

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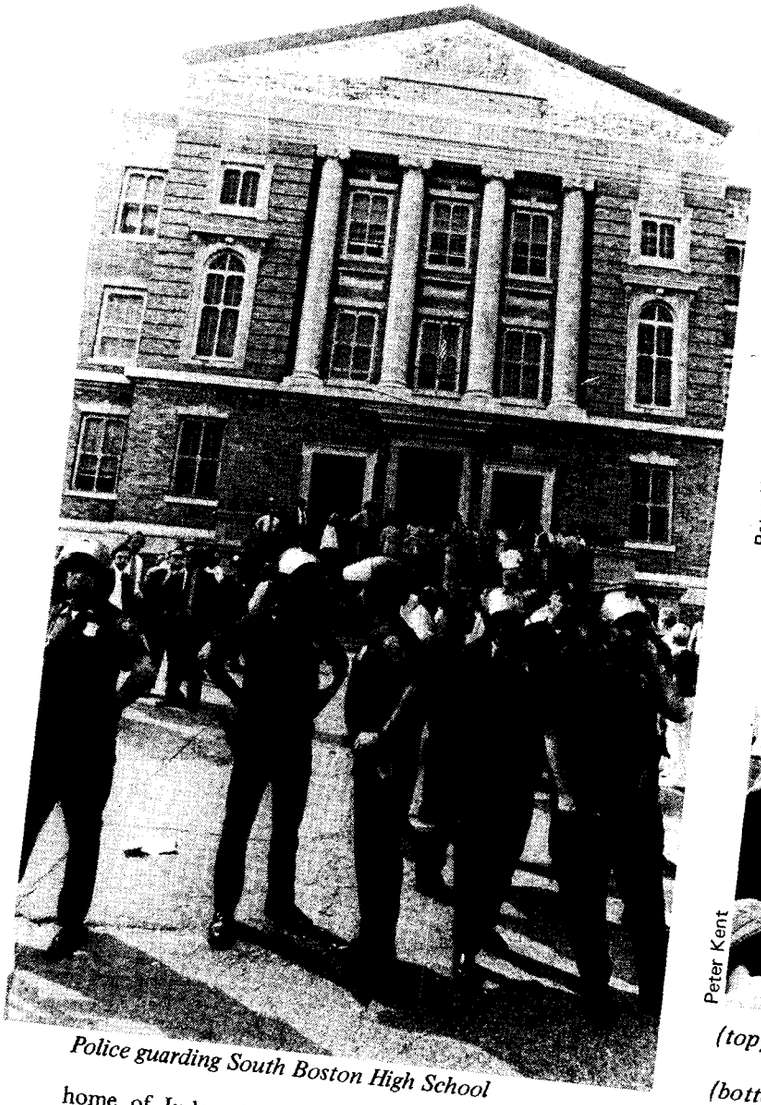
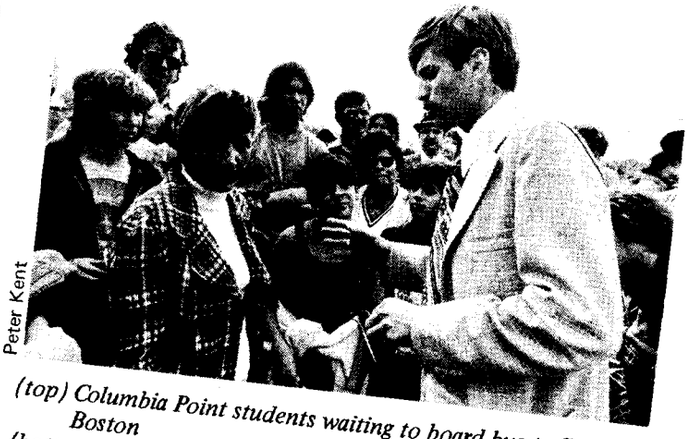


Police guarding South Boston High School

Peter Southwick

Peter Kent



Peter Kent

(top) Columbia Point students waiting to board bus to South Boston
(bottom) David Dukes, Grand Dragon of the Baton Rouge Ku Klux Klan, talking to Southie residents

home of Judge Garrity (in posh suburban Wellesley, safely out of the Boston school district). Now that the battles had begun, Councilor Hicks, the entire School Committee, and assorted local Irish politicians brazenly supported the boycott and all but encouraged white violence—even after the state education commissioner announced he would enforce a law prohibiting the advocacy of truancy.

Hicks and two other South Boston pols issued a kind of white White Paper justifying the boycott as a legitimate means to keep Southie's finest out of "crime-ridden Roxbury," the main black community, whose high school was paired with South Boston. The manifesto claimed that "100 black murderers of white people" were walking the streets of Roxbury unapprehended. No white child should be allowed to enter such a jungle (the figures were fictitious, of course, but the manifesto was a call to war, not a report of actual conditions).

Things had already gotten out of hand when one fine September day the Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan flew into Logan Airport from Louisiana. Southie was only mildly disappointed that Dragon David Duke was dressed in suit and tie instead of sheet and burning cross. Otherwise, he was warmly received and even protected when the heat got too close. Although the police earlier had ejected a small band of American Nazis from the neighborhood (and were enforcing Mayor White's dubious "martial law" prohibition against assemblies of more than three persons), Duke and his comrades were allowed to hold a Klan klatsch at the base of the Dorchester Heights monument. On a chilly night with hundreds of Southie's Roman Catholics hanging on the Klansman's shrill words, Duke orated:

"White people! White people! We are going to win a great victory in South Boston for the white race. The tide is beginning to turn against forced race mixing. It is our duty as white people, proud of our heritage, to help return civilization to this continent. Two hundred years ago our ancestors stood up and fought against the tyranny of the British bayonets. Our struggle is much harder. The Federal Government is taking money out of your pockets to finance the production of thousands of little black bastards. The

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real issue isn't education. The real issue is Niggers!"

[WAR BEGINS]

Whether the Klan was responsible for it or not (Duke left town the next day), the "incidents" increased in the schools and the streets after the visit. "It's guerrilla warfare inside that [South Boston High] school," one of the corps of 'cool-it' teachers' aides reported. There were food-fights in the cafeteria that were "minor episodes" according to officials, but were major battles to the frightened blacks inside.

"You don't see what's been going on in South Boston High because most of the people talking about it aren't inside," a black student called Tina told a reporter after classes. "The whites start throwing food at the black kids. But when they started getting beat up, they went after the principal, but the black kids saved him. No one talks about that, they just say how the black kids are starting all the trouble."

It was getting bad outside, too. Every night there was sniping heard in the predominantly black Columbia Point housing project, a few miles from South Boston High. The residents believed that the firing came from Southie's whites. The police said it was done by blacks firing at patrol cars; the cops moved in and set up positions on the rooftops. Columbia Point had the atmosphere of a concentration camp. The police, mostly white and predominantly Irish, made as few moves against Southie as they had to. And everyone started making Molotov cocktails.

With unaccustomed tenacity, Mayor White and the generally liberal establishment of city policy-makers (coordinated by Deputy Mayor Robert Kiley, the former CIA official who had been in charge of subverting student organizations in the Sixties) maintained the myth that everything was progressing nicely, thank you; school desegregation was a success. Not until the ugliness of it all burst onto the television screens and front pages did they acknowledge what was really there. A crowd of whites in a Southie demonstration tore a black man, a Martiniquan immigrant, from his car stalled in traffic and beat him bloody before the police could rescue him. The next day, blacks near Roxbury retaliated by beating a white man in his car. The cool cover was off.

Prodded by a frustrated and furious NAACP, Mayor White called on President Ford to send in a battalion of Federal Marshals. Ford refused, joining Hicks and Southie's politicians in denouncing the busing plan. Whites took Ford's words as approval of their tactics to stop busing by any means necessary, and more violence followed. Mayor White and Governor Frank Sargent (who was facing an uphill reelection campaign) spent the next several days playing coy political games against each other while the fighting raged in the streets and schools. White made up his own contingent of reinforcements from various state and local police agencies. Sargent called up the un-federalized National Guard, which camped out on the outskirts of town. And Boston girded for the next battles in a war which everyone knew had only begun.

[THE BITTER DILEMMA]

It was always a crazy idea to bus Roxbury kids into Southie, or vice-versa. The die-hard School Committee had for years been whipping up racial tension, at the same time that it was cementing patterns of segregation with school construction and districting gerrymanders. Judge Garrity specifically found that segregation was no accident, but a purposeful policy of the committee. Busing as it was conceived this year simply could not make the integrative dreams of another era come true. Even the state imbalance law seemed anachronistic: it was passed on false premises of good will on the part of what we called then the "white power structure," and the will was lost long ago.

In Boston, at least, nobody wanted busing, although various spokespeople for the black community were compelled to support it for historical and political reasons—or because the original opposition had come from their enemies. The "official" moderate black leadership—the small black caucus of state legislators and the local NAACP—was not ready to disassociate itself from a racial contest whose terms had been decided long ago; it was too late to stop now. More radical blacks sought to remove themselves from the contest, and thus avoid the terms. Their focus was on the struggle for power for the black community, and the terms of that newer contest were far outside of the "integration" issue.

Whites who intuitively support the black community have been faced with a bitter dilemma. No expression of that support seems to make much sense in the current political situation. To argue *for* busing means to condemn black pupils to the role of cannon fodder in a school system that at best brings "death at an early age," as Jonathan Kozol once described it. To argue *against* busing is to go on the line with the most reactionary elements of society; and even if the reasons are different, the common position is uncomfortable, to say the least.

Most liberal whites, especially those who live in the suburbs outside the range of the busing order, have clung to the illusions of years past pretend-

Wall of South Boston housing project

Peter Kent

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ing that busing for Boston is a natural way to integrate the blacks and whites they never see. The *Globe* is their mouthpiece. It is perhaps the most earnestly liberal major newspaper in the country, but in all its years of passionate support of busing, it has never called the white opposition by its rightful name: racism. Without proper identification, there was no real way to fight it. You cannot struggle against bigotry when you call it "belief in quality education."

To name it and analyze it correctly, of course, would be to implicate a structure of power to which the *Globe* and Kevin White and the kindly integrationists are parties: the institutions which perpetuate white rule (Boston is perhaps the only major industrial city in the country with no black, elected officials), the real estate interests that keep Boston one of the most ghettoized cities in the country, the great universities that define culture as a product of the white European mind, the heavily interlocked banks and businesses that redevelop the blacks out of the "New Boston." It has been easier for the *Globe* and the notoriously tolerant Bostonians to cover up those truths of white racism and to dismiss the demands of black strength, rather than to confront their own roles.

"Quality education"—which is often the red herring of the controversy—is really an issue in an important way: but because of race, not in spite of it. Because segregation in Boston is so secure and the School Committee so intransigent, black parents have recently begun to fight for control of the schools in the black community. All year, they have been in the forefront of a referendum campaign to disestablish the School Committee and set up a system of community and school councils to supervise education in the neighborhoods. Southie and many white communities already have effective "community control" because their color matches that of the School Committee and the other powers-that-be. The present "Home and School Associations," which lead the anti-busing campaign, are already accomplishing for whites what a restructured school system of local control boards would do for blacks.

The specific reorganization plan was not a perfect solution for the blacks; it was as much a power-play by Mayor White against the School Committee as it was a license for community control in Roxbury. And it lost in the November election because it was widely associated with the integration faction. Ironically, busing has undermined the black campaign for community control of the schools. With black children leaving Roxbury for minority positions in white schools, black strength "in the community" will be diluted.

There are a hundred more ironies in the troubles, not the least of them is the prospect of everyone getting exactly what they do not want. There are perhaps other strategies for both integration and community control, but Boston has presented plans that are unworkable and unwise at best, and damaging at worst. For this "cradle of democracy," busing is no more than an available myth that has been enshrined by supporters and opponents alike as the one way to the good society. It takes a long time for the old myths of social progress to die, and they die hardest when they are attacked by the enemies of progress themselves.

Busing: A Symposium

The issue of school busing is likely to become increasingly bitter as rhetoric and court orders move closer toward reality. As we have seen this year in Boston, with busing the kind of racism that had lain dormant and defensive under the high moral tone of America's civil rights years re-emerges in its most explicit and aggressive forms.

Busing has become a code word for a multitude of goals and sins. Deep divisions over race, class, communities, private aspirations, and social mobility are involved. All converge here on the battlefield of public education.

So this month we have asked several leading "iconoclast educationists" to shed some light on the controversy.

Herb Kohl

"Any minority needs to build a culture. This is positive energy which doesn't mean that by building your own culture you need to oppress others."

By itself, busing simply means putting kids in buses and moving them around. In rural counties it's been done for years. It is only when busing is used as an instrument to integrate schools that the question becomes complicated. I don't believe that integration is necessarily a desirable goal. I don't think that all people should have one type of school in America, or one type of child – a

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white middle-class conforming child who'll serve the capitalist culture. That's what I understand integration to mean in its moral and political sense. On the other hand, one of the main motives for integration was the unequal distribution of resources within communities, where some schools were treated well and others were neglected. Integration, or at least desegregation, was largely seen as a means of rectifying that unequal distribution of resources.

Yet busing doesn't integrate the community. It just moves the kids around during the school day. The schools begin to get healthier only when the staff and the administration become desegregated as well as the student body. A truly integrated school would have perhaps a black principal and a white assistant principal, or a fair equivalent. If you have a school of 50 percent white and 50 percent black kids, 90 percent white teachers and 100 percent white administrators, you don't have desegregation; you essentially have black kids being bused into white institutions. The teachers represent the parents of the white kids. They begin to think "we have to give special help to 'those' children and special protection to 'our' children."

The "those/our" distinction exists to the point of being one of the main provocations of the movement for community control, for people to say "give us money to control our own schools." The original thrust of community control was that black kids need not go out into wealthy white communities, but that poor, black community schools should get all the resources they need – to use as they see fit. In some communities, community control is the only answer. In other communities, desegregation – economic and political as well as educational – may be the proper and sensible way to achieve equal integrity and power for all people. But it must be achieved through struggle that goes beyond the classroom and the school to embrace the city as a whole.

In Berkeley, school desegregation – achieved by a city-wide busing program – has been tremendously useful. The success is largely due to the involvement of some strong, black adults who have been very much a part of the process. Berkeley has also been fortunate in the high quality and sensitivity of many of its teachers. The faculty, staff and administration have been integrated as well as the student bodies from kindergarten through high school. The kids themselves – black and white – are learning from each other. For example, the "gang culture" present in the black community reflects, after all, an ability of kids to organize themselves as peers and not depend on being told what to do. It is a degree of autonomy that white children are beginning to learn by example. Children are also coming to recognize the cultural integrity of other groups of people.

The effort to desegregate the schools has also brought the issue of racism into everybody's home. It has forced the children of Berkeley, and a great many adults, to deal with the racism that is part of growing up white in America. To the degree that racism is confronted openly in this way, desegregation is a positive force. At the same time, desegregation is moving many scared, white, conservative people to take their kids out of the Berkeley schools, to put them mostly into traditional, private, college-prep schools. In the Berkeley busing plan, all children attend the white, middle-class hill schools from kindergarten through third grade; the flatland schools are fourth through sixth grades. This essentially means that the youngest black children are bused to white schools, and that fourth grade is the first time a substantial number of white kids are bused into the black community. That's when many white parents pull them out, fearful that their children's values, if not their physical safety, will be threatened.

A great many problems have developed in the wake of desegregation in schools. For example, people thought that just getting black kids to rub elbows with white kids meant that a few IQ points would rub off onto the blacks. Of course it didn't happen. Berkeley comes out above the national norms in achievement test scores. But when you break down the statistics, you find a bi-modal distribution, with white kids and middle-class black kids on one end, and most of the black kids, as well as poor white, chicano, and other minority kids on the other.

Nobody has given very much thought to what really goes on when you bring together in the same classroom a number of young people whose cultures are both different and strongly defined. One clear example of cultural difference is language. Black children and white children speak recognizably different languages. And although black people are by necessity bilingual, white people are monolingual; white people in positions of authority frequently don't even know what black people are saying to them. They're not *willing* to understand what's being said, for they really believe that they speak the pure language and other people speak a corrupted version. Yet any minority group, or majority group for that matter, feels the need to build a culture – of which language is only one part – and to manifest the values expressed in its own culture. This is a positive, creative energy which should be tapped, and it doesn't necessarily mean that by building your own culture you have to oppress another.

There is a common unity on the part of both black and white kids in hating traditional schools. The problem that came up in Berkeley, and will probably come up everywhere else, is that desegregation doesn't solve the learning problems because the schools are so miserable. The schools are destructive to all children who must attend day after day for, in most cases, far too many years. And the parents' expectations impose additional strains on their own children. The black and white kids will join together when they can accept each other and become peers in hating the school as a common instrument of their oppression. Learning not to hate each other, but to hate the school – unlikely as it sounds – turns out to be a very healthy process, creating proper and sufficient anger, with an eye toward change.

The criticisms that I raise about schools are equally valid for segregated and non-segregated schools. The difference is that certain schools teach their kids to accept slave roles and other schools teach their kids to accept the role of the master. The great hope in

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desegregating schools is that poor people have a chance to find a school which trains kids to play a managerial role in society instead of training them to become passive workers. In that sense, desegregation might have some healthy consequences in the long run. It might demystify being middle-class for a lot of kids, destroying the idea that being middle-class means that people are somehow better or purer or even smarter. That's one of the things that kids very quickly catch onto, because smart in kids' terms and smart in school terms are very different, and kids know that smartness in school frequently just means playing the right game to the right people.

Herb Kohl is author of Half the House *(Dutton).*

John Holt

"Poor people don't worry much about the need for racial understanding. Most of all they worry that nobody gives a damn about their worries."

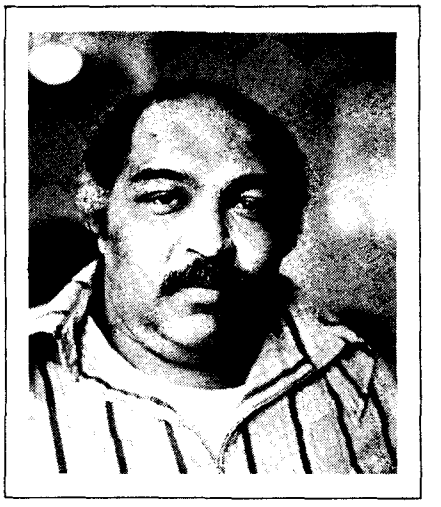
Integration is a great con game. Those who push it, white and black, are influential and articulate people, who have some comfort, security, power, and space in their lives. They are not marginal workers, welfare mothers, or unemployed. They are not among the great mass of the American poor.

Poor people don't worry very much about the need for integration or racial understanding. They worry about jobs, or their rents, which go up while their houses fall down. Much of what they eat has doubled or tripled in price in recent years—or even months. They worry about the declining services they have to depend on—police, doctors, hospitals, schools. They worry about inflation. They worry about this depression, which could get as bad as the Thirties. They worry about crime. Most of all they worry that nobody gives a damn about their worries.

Integration in 1974 means voluntary integration for the well-off, forced integration for the poor, who least want it or can stand it, but lack the political or economic power to stop it or get away from it. In this still-rich nation, 30 or 40 million people—a third of them non-white—live at a level of poverty, wretchedness, and despair that many countries much less rich would not tolerate and have long since done away with. To keep these millions in their misery, and to demand at the same time that they share their desperately crowded life space with people they hate and fear, and who hate and fear them, is the height of callousness, injustice, and political stupidity. It can only drive a deeper wedge between poor whites and non-whites, who need above all to join forces in a political coalition that could meet their real, economic needs.

Only when that has been done, and no Americans live any longer in deep poverty and fear of it, and all who wish can find decent and useful work, will we be able to do very much to reduce the racism, white and black, which now poisons and troubles our lives. But let us not think that at the point of a gun we can do away with the deep-rooted prejudices and fears of people who do not, or may soon not, have enough to eat. That way lies nothing but failure and disaster, and more race hatred than we have now.

John Holt is a writer and lecturer who thinks a person's academic credentials are his own business. He is author of numerous magazine articles and six books beginning with How Children Fail *(Pitman) and ranging to* Escape from Childhood *(Dutton). His next book will be* Doing, Not Educating *(Dutton).*



Noel Day

"Instead of pushing for a bigger share of society's wealth, people are fighting over the leavings. That's the tragedy of Boston—they think they have something worth defending."

The story behind the picture of two South Boston mothers in pants suits, curlers, and "hard hats" going off to defend their neighborhood school from a busload of black kids actually began almost 200 years ago. In October 1787, a group of black citizens submitted a petition to the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Their petition complained of: "*. . . the education of our children which now receive no benefit from the free schools in the town of Boston, which we think is a great grievance, as by woful experience we now feel the want of a common education.*"

But it wasn't until 1855 that *de jure* segregation in Boston's schools was ended. William C. Nell, one of the black community leaders of that period, recalled that as a young student in a segregated school, he had vowed to do his best "to hasten the day when the color of the skin would be no barrier to equal school rights."

By the Sixties, however, Boston's schools were racially segregated again—but as a result of increasingly rigid residential segregation rather than any conscious legislative or administrative policy. According to the 1960 U.S. Census Report, all but 1500 of Boston's Negro residents lived in the Rox-

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bury ghetto area. In 1963, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) conducted a survey of Boston's schools. The findings of that survey indicated that about 7,000 black children were enrolled in schools that were 90 percent or more black and that another 7,000 black children were in schools that were 50 percent to 85 percent non-white. The data cited in CORE's survey, drawn in large part from the Annual Report of the School Committee's business manager, also showed that per pupil expenditures in the seven predominantly black school districts in the city were as much as 27 percent lower than average per pupil expenditures in the rest of Boston. CORE's study also pointed out that there were no Negro principals or other top administrators in the Boston public schools and that less than 40 of the more than 3,000 teachers in the system were black. At the time, about 10 percent of Boston's population was black.

Incredibly, in the face of this evidence, the Boston School Committee refused to admit the existence of "*de facto* segregation," "racial imbalance," or even "*de facto* segregation resulting from residential concentration." Within a week after the School Committee's denial the first of two school boycotts was held in Boston. Over 3,000 secondary school students joined in the one-day boycott to protest unequal and segregated schools.

During the next year positions hardened. The School Committee refused to discuss the issue of *de facto* segregation on the grounds that it wasn't an educational issue and indicated opposition to any attempt to redraw school district lines to increase racial balance. The black community held a week-long "sit-in" at the School Committee's offices, picketed the building for over two months, and in early 1964 held a second, and larger, school boycott. About 14,000 black students participated and several thousand white students from suburban schools attended the "freedom schools" that were set up in the black community.

In 1965, the Massachusetts Legislature passed the state's racial imbalance law. That law requires that school districts throughout the state develop plans to bring about racial balance in the public schools within each district. The Boston School Committee then embarked on a course of resistance and evasion that the Chairwoman of the School Committee, Louise Day Hicks, was able to use to become a national political figure.

Two early experiments in busing took place during this period. One was the foundation-supported METCO program—a program that bused black children from Boston to schools in nearby suburban districts. The other was a grassroots parent-sponsored program called "Operation Exodus" that bused black children to predominantly white elementary and junior high schools within Boston. "Operation Exodus," however, carefully selected the schools and enrolled the children under an open enrollment plan. The predominantly white schools involved in Operation Exodus' program were selected on the basis of their reputation as "good schools." They were all in stable, middle-class communities or upwardly mobile, working-class communities. A couple of principals threatened to do a George Wallace-at-the-door scene and a few white parents stood outside of the schools and looked apprehensive for the first few days. But there were no incidents of outright physical violence.

The experiences of Operation Exodus and METCO have, in fact, been typical of busing programs where black students have been transported to schools in white middle-class and upper-middle-class communities. Black parents have often been the ones who were most apprehensive about busing programs like METCO or Operation Exodus. They've been worried about their children being so far away from home, and in a lot of cases, they have felt insulted by "one-way" busing plans. But their children have, for the most part, been accepted—and, in some instances, even welcomed.

Busing has worked best in those communities where the issues have been thoroughly discussed first, and where the residents feel neither economically threatened by nor socially competitive with black people. That is, busing seems to work best where people can afford to be liberal.

The people in South Boston don't have that luxury. Boston is one of the most segregated cities in the country. It is both ethnically segregated and economically segregated. If you know what section of Boston someone lives in you can generally tell what their ethnic background is, what religion they are, approximately their annual income and occupational level, know something about their educational background, and know whether they are likely to be first, second, or third-generation American.

South Boston is a lower-income Irish Catholic ghetto. Those who have made it in any way have moved out of "Southie" to other sections of the city like West Roxbury or Roslindale. Unemployment is high in South Boston, the neighborhood is deteriorating, delinquency rates are high, there are lots of kids hanging out on the streets with nothing to do, and the schools are poor. "Southie" has had little but its myths and its heroes to sustain it for the last few years, but those myths are being exposed, and now the community is finding that its heroes have feet of clay. The people of South Boston always thought they could rely on the Catholic Church and their politicians to protect them and to care for them. In the mid-sixties old men in shirt sleeves and vests still drank whiskey from paper cups in the room next to the City Council's Chamber and remembered James Michael Curley as a "darlin' man." Cardinal Cushing refused to recognize Lyndon Johnson as President because *his* President—Jack Kennedy—was dead and "cut down in his bloom." And the Boston School Committee stopped just short of publicly promising that they would keep the niggers—or in Louise Day Hicks' words, the "disadvantaged"—out of South Boston's neighborhood schools.

Then the Church moved to the Left, priests became revolutionaries and married ex-nuns, the parochial school system faltered, and people who could still remember signs that said "No Irish Need Apply" began to foresee hard times once again. The School Committee failed to keep its word, too; the courts ordered desegregation and the city had to comply. When Ted Kennedy tried to use his personal influence in his home wards to ease the pain of integration the people of South Boston felt that

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they'd been betrayed–by one of their own–and they drove him off the platform. Finally, when they did resist integration and tried to block the doors of their schools, the Boston Police–Irish and deeply rooted in Southie's traditions and values–were on the other side.

On some gut level the people in South Boston must know where it's at. The struggle may be over the schools on the surface; white mothers wearing football helmets and carrying baseball bats to beat black kids may really think that they are keeping their children from being knifed; but underneath it all they must also know that Boston's blacks are their main competition for jobs, for decent housing, for self-respect, and in all those other races that poor and powerless people must run.

The black community in Boston should know where it's at, too. If busing is really just a means to an end–a way of transporting kids to a place where they can get "quality" education, or at least a better education–then South Boston is not the place to go. More students go to college, for example, from those high schools with large numbers of black students than from South Boston High School. The kids in South Boston are as educationally "deprived" and "disadvantaged" as the black kids are. If quality education has any meaning a busing program would be set up to move the white kids out of South Boston, too.

Instead of pushing for better schools, black people and white people are fighting over who will sit next to whom in some of the worst schools in the nation, and instead of pushing for more jobs and a bigger share of the society's wealth, black people and white people are fighting over the leavings. Racism has been used to obscure common class interests ever since it was used to defeat populism. That is the tragedy of South Boston–they think they have something worth defending.

Noel Day helped to organize the school boycotts in Boston in the mid-Sixties. He was co-founder of the Boston Freedom Schools in 1963-64. He is currently a partner in URSA, a social-planning consulting firm in SF.

Ericka Huggins

"We must stop busing children from one bad situation to another and deal with the real problem–an overhaul of public education."

The issue of busing is one that concerns everyone – parents, teachers, and children – about the quality of education in our public schools. Black and other poor people struggle with the questions: should we try to find better schools outside our communities or should we concentrate our efforts on upgrading the existing schools in our communities.

There would be no controversy over quality education in the black community if black people had concrete control of our schools. If we had decision-making power as to how much money would be spent on each child, how much would be spent on textbooks, and more importantly, what textbooks should be used to educate our children, there would be no need to bus them away from home. Community control would enable us to create beautiful, modern, well-staffed schools in our own neighborhoods in an atmosphere conducive to our children's learning.

We do not have community control of our schools. Therefore, we have been left powerless to prevent our schools from being poorly funded and understaffed. We have been unable to ensure that a corps of dedicated black and other minority persons be those who teach our children and serve as their role models. Consequently, we have been led to believe that if our children are bused to schools in white communities, they will automatically receive quality education and will simultaneously solve the problem of *de facto* school segregation. Neither assumption is correct.

The American system of education is chronically inadequate becacause its bureaucratic rules, regulations, and methods do not at all serve children. Instead, they serve administrators and, on a larger scale, act to perpetuate the status quo. There is very little that is creative in the curricula of most public schools in this country, thus our children are rarely challenged or motivated at school. White people may be under the illusion that because their children have more attractive surroundings and more modern textbooks than can usually be found in black and poor communities, their children are receiving a quality education.

The emphasis placed on indoctrinating schoolchildren with the society's dominant virtues and values and stifling their free development has resulted in the children of the privileged classes receiving just as an inadequate and inferior education as black and poor children. What we must do is stop busing our children from one bad situation to another and start dealing with the real problem – a complete overhaul in the structure and philosophy of public school education in this country.

Many of us know that a child who is bused often suffers from the confusion and humiliation of a new situation. The child goes from Community A to Community B to attend school because B allegedly has better books and equipment. However, there is no concern for the children who are bused; there is little or no love for them as human beings because there is really no understanding of them and their basic needs and desires. Children who are bused typically develop feelings of inferiority because *they know* that they are considered "culturally deprived" individuals who come to Community B's school for so-called educational, social, and cultural uplifting. The children may experience withdrawal from learning and/or depression or find themselves taking out

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their frustrations in fights with white children.

Busing is a racist, lazy, selfish decision made by people who don't want to take the time to do the work required to improve the quality of education in all of our schools. Many school administrators have concluded that there is no solution to the problem of inferior schools within black and poor communities. Therefore, busing has become a quick, cop-out answer to the basic problem.

I question whether schools in white communities have the "quality" of education that black and other minority children require. Black and oppressed people want and need the type of education that truly teaches us about ourselves – our true history and the particulars of our present situation in the U.S. Only in this way will we be able to survive as a people and begin to take those steps necessary to change our plight. Furthermore, because segregation has been imposed on us throughout our history in America, we have developed a lifestyle, a way of thinking, loving, and relating to each other that is markedly different from that found among white people.

Public schools, as they are presently structured and operated, will never meet the needs of black and oppressed people. Going to schools in white communities will accomplish very little that is positive for us as a people. Not only are white schools ill-equipped to teach us our true history – why should the oppressor admit his wrongdoings to those he has oppressed? – but they also have no means of transmitting to our children those beautiful folkways and mores that they so desperately need in order to grow up as proud and confident young men and women.

It is for those very reasons that we have established the Intercommunal Youth Institute in the heart of East Oakland's (California) black and poor community. Angered at our children's continuing inferior education, we as parents, teachers, and concerned citizens have entered a viable alternative to overcrowded public schools, an alternative that we believe will one day become a model for all those who want quality education for their children.

The Intercommunal Youth Institute is an example of community control of schools in action. If you walk into our school, you will immediately sense the feeling of pride and an eagerness to learn from all our children, so rarely found among children who attend public schools. Our children love the institute because it is *their* school. Their parents and teachers love it equally as much because they and the children worked together to make the school a reality, and they are constantly cooperating to make the school's environment even more beautiful.

At the Intercommunal Youth Institute there are no barriers between students and teachers, or between the students themselves created by outdated values and irrelevant allusions to racial superiority. The children here are happy because they get the love and individualized attention that they need. Our school is living proof to those who doubt that quality education can exist within the black community.

A child's mind is a very important tool for making changes in any society. Children have a free, unbiased way of looking at things that adults will never again capture. We believe that children are the hope of the future – that they are the people who will create the new ideas and better methods for resolving world problems. Therefore, at the Intercommunal Youth Institute we stress teaching the children *how* to think as opposed to *what* to think. This is basically why public schools are failing all our children; their emphasis is placed on the wrong level.

We do not believe that children should be chided for their ethnic background, have their families' economic standing ridiculed, and go through constant harassment just to gain access to textbooks and other learning materials that are generally racist, one-sided, and devoid of reality. There are textbooks used by public schools all over the country that show black people in one of three basic stereotyped moods – anger, fear, or surprise.

We have eliminated such nonfunctional educational materials from our children's classrooms because we, the community, control the Intercommunal Youth Institute. Since the school is located in the midst of the black community, the children are surrounded by people and places to remind them of where and who they are. Many different kinds of people come through our school, but all of them are subordinate to the type of educational environment that we have created. We do not allow anyone to dominate our children with their individual ideas and values. We strive to put forth positive feelings about community and family. There are both black men and women at the institute to establish positive male and femaleness in young minds.

The problem of achieving quality education goes much deeper than the surface solution of busing. Public school systems are due for a complete change. We believe that the Intercommunal Youth Institute is one alternative for our survival until this complete change comes about with the establishment of community control of schools throughout the country.

Ericka Huggins is director of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model school for black and poor youth in East Oakland.

Edgar Friedenberg

"Before getting into a bloody conflict over this issue, let people – children are people – choose what school, if any, they wish to attend."

It is ironical, though doubtless inevitable, that the compulsory busing of children to schools they have been assigned to attend should have emerged as one of the

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most inflammatory issues in the development of the civil rights movement in the United States. What makes it ironical is the fact that compulsory school attendance itself is still universally accepted as just social practice, though it is without parallel in our society as a form of involuntary and unpaid servitude. The Supreme Court has just agreed to hear a case in which an involuntarily committed patient in a state mental hospital, who has been receiving custodial care of a sort but no treatment, has sued to have his confinement declared unconstitutional. If he wins, the precedent thus established might well be used to effect the release from school of hundreds of thousands of pupils, most of them of lower status and many of these black, whom the schools are not demonstrably benefiting; whom indeed they appear quite clearly to be harming by branding them as incompetent and reducing self-esteem that years of scorn have already rendered precarious.

Furthermore, the recent work of so-called "revisionist" historians of education like Michael Katz, Colin Greer, Bowles and Gintis, Clarence Karier, Joel Spring, and Paul Violas, among others, seems clearly to establish that the public school system has always served, on balance, the interests of social stratification and that it has reduced, rather than augmented, gross access of lower-status and working-class youth to channels of social and occupational mobility. The statements of its early supporters like Daniel Webster and Horace Mann indicate clearly enough that this was their intent in supporting it, though they saw the matter differently. They were concerned with designing an instrument which would permit a docile, self-policing labor force to be recruited from an expanding population of immigrants of varied ethnicity but quite uniformly low socio-economic status. Horace Mann probably thought that a Sicilian immigrant would, or at any rate should, think that a school system that trained his son to work a 70-hour week in a mill for $30 was providing him with economic opportunity. Many, of course, disagreed, and turned their efforts instead to organized public service through the Mafia and other social agencies. But there are no historical grounds that would justify anyone, black or white, to infer that the public schools are a suitable instrumentality to which to turn for social justice, though schoolmen and liberals have generally pictured them so in their rhetoric.

With these considerations in mind, I simply cannot respond to the current controversy over busing in the terms in which it is now presented. I am, of course, opposed to busing because I oppose compulsory school attendance. How can I support compulsory transportation of children for the purpose of making them attend a school I would be unwilling to force them to attend if it were next door? Nor am I greatly moved by the statements of officials like Mayor White that the law must be upheld even by officials who find it repugnant. I've been through that already nearly 15 years ago with then-Governor Pat Brown of California yattering for years about his abhorrence of capital punishment as the state moved inexorably toward the execution of Caryl Chessman. Nor do I highly esteem the many Americans from FBI man to draft board member who have assisted in the enforcement of the Selective Service Act.

But neither am I sympathetic with the hasty efforts now being made to avoid polarization of the United States by greeting the bigotry of the people of Southie or Queens, or the book-burning miners of West Virginia, as an understandable expression of the resentments associated with their own struggles, insecurities, and marginality. Of course it is understandable; there is no mystery here. But being understandable doesn't make it any more tolerable. And the extreme depth and prevalence of such pockets of ill-feeling seems to me the strongest argument against local control of the schools, though not necessarily a decisive one. I see no reason, in any case, why children of either race or any social class should be conscripted into a 20th century crusade for social justice; while the selection of the schools as the arena for such an encounter seems quite absurd on historical grounds. Before getting into a bloody conflict over this issue, let people—not people's parents but the people themselves as individuals; children are people—choose what school, if any, they wish to attend and see where that leaves us. Any struggle which then erupts will at least have the grace of being fought by volunteers, rather than being imposed on the most helpless members of social groups whose antagonisms are largely fueled by social processes they hardly even seek to understand.

Edgar Z. Friedenberg is author of Coming of Age in America *(Random House). He currently lives in Canada and teaches at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia.*

Malecai Andrews

"'What if I don't want to be a melted down, diluted version of whitey?' Blacks already know white culture. It's their own they need some tutoring in."

Every September, as the opening of school nears, white liberals steel themselves for moral paralysis over whether busing is a good idea or not; conservatives busily prepare speeches on "quality education"; honest racists start getting nigger fever; and the Left prepares to be confused. Last fall was no exception. The action centered around the Irish of South Boston who have laid the issue on the line. They spell it out in the signs that dot windows and appear on the sides of buildings:

"IT'S NOT THE BUSES, IT'S THE NIGGERS"; "NIGGERS SUCK"; "FRENCH-FRIED NIGGERS FOR SALE."

And so we are treated once again to the question of whether or not it's a

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good idea to bus black kids into white neighborhoods for educational purposes. But as everyone knows the issue isn't busing, the issue is blacks, it is power, it is culture, it is alienation, it is fear, it is America. This takes us all back to base one, to Little Rock, Pontiac, Brooklyn, James Meredith and George Wallace. The issue is whether America, right now, is ready for what must be done to deal with integration. I think not, and there are many reasons why this is the case.

First, in 1974 there is still no clear understanding of the issues. The basic assumptions of the busing controversy reveal racist attitudes on the part of nearly all of the contending parties. Liberals such as Ted Kennedy begin with the assumption that assimilation-integration is a good idea because blacks are inferior. Beginning from that premise the only humane thing to do is to integrate 'em. That way the down-trodden black can get equal to his "advantaged" white superiors. Yes, we are inferior, Kennedy tells us, but dig it, it's okay because it is not our fault. It's bad schools, weak family structures, bad nutrition.

Out-and-out racists like Jensen and Shockley agree basically with this Kennedy, liberal assumption. Shockley is blunt—blacks are inferior; IQ tests confirm it, he says. Blacks are dumb and this is directly related to racial factors. But more importantly, those blacks with some white blood can be saved. Because they have some white genes, they can be educated. Those who are "pure" black . . . well they are hopeless. From this premise it makes sense to bus and integrate that part of the race that can be saved through "selective assimilation." Genetic improvement demands nothing less. Right?

On the Left one finds ideological confusion. On the one hand some white leftist groups are committed to Marxist notions of class unity, and busing-'em-down-to-Boston pits working class Irish against their black working class comrades. Boston, they point out, is an example of the niggers and the poor whites fighting it out in the streets while uptown liberals smile knowingly and continue to run things. Given this view a fight about busing simply illustrates the problem of oppressive rule by the few over the many.

On the other hand the Left is also committed to supporting the integration and equal opportunity fight of their black brothers. This demands their support of integration efforts. What to do? One position tends toward the endorsement of community power arguments and the other toward "integration."

The underlying assumptions of the above views are clear. Everybody believes blacks are inferior. The only real disagreement is over why—environment say the liberals; genetics say the Shockleys; evil, lazy, shiftless natures say the conservatives; and the Left is caught on the horns of an ideological dilemma.

The implications of these views are similarly racist. Most seem to agree that the result of blacks remaining with other blacks in their own schools equals mixing ignorance with ignorance. There you have it—the so-called busing controversy. Integrate 'em cause they are inferior; segregate 'em because they are inferior. This is a controversy? The issue, simply put, becomes whether there ought to be an attempt to integrate an "under-race" everybody acknowledges to be inferior. Some say yes, some say no; blacks waver and a few who have found their wits say: There is something rotten about the argument.

But there is more to it than even this. Not only are the premises of the busing assimilation "controversy" racist, they are also incorrect. This country prides itself on the melting pot idea. For many it is an unquestioned good that everybody ought to be melted down to look, think, and act like everybody else. Integration is a code word for assimilating and assimilating is what the melting pot is all about. But many blacks now say: "What if I don't want to be a melted down, diluted version of whitey? What if I like being black?" There is no answer to that—few believe that anyone could *want* to be black.

But more importantly the argument that integration results in higher black IQs and greater and equal opportunity is highly dubious. Studies have shown that integration has no effect on either black or white IQs, on black or white performance in the school, on black or white job skills and incomes. In fact, schools for blacks or whites, in a glutted post-World War II job market, do not necessarily provide "better opportunities." Now everyone has "schooling." Moreover, studies have shown that success in schools is related more to home environment and peer group norms than anything else. So the question is why bus black kids to be spat upon, degraded, physically assaulted, and psychologically damaged.

The argument that integration "broadens horizons" through the association that blacks and whites come to share, won't do. Blacks already know too much of white culture. It's their own they need some tutoring in. It is senseless to talk of "broadening horizons" in the hostile environment which the Boston schools represent.

The premise of busing and integration is wrong because it just won't work. It won't work because it does nothing about the problem of institutional racism. Here comes Leroy Jones, a nine-year-old black kid fresh from the busing war. He enters the white world across town, a world which ignores or is positively hostile to him, to black culture, to his black personality, to his entire black experience. The institution itself, the teachers, the administrators, and the community daily assault him. He is now "integrated."

But that is not even likely because Leroy is liable to end up in a tracking system which guides him to a vocational occupation (so much for equal opportunity) and overall he exists in a school which is integrated on the outside but segregated on the inside. This is progress? Not by a long shot. It is cultural imperialism and annihilation; it is psychological assault. In fact, such a hostile environment increases the causes of racism for both Leroy and his well and ill-intentioned tormentors because there is a net increase in the fear, hostility (we can expect Leroy to retaliate) and alienation which is the basis of racism in the first place.

Busing with its goal of integration is bad for the whites involved also. The Irish in Boston have an interest in maintaining the traditions and cultural identity which their community entails. They, too, want to control what happens in their community and they also want control over what happens in their neighborhoods. Blacks threat-

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en these things profoundly. Black cultural traits and mannerisms have a way of "taking over" in any milieu because black culture is more alive than the dead white world which surrounds it. The Irish in Boston know this and seek to save themselves.

That is the case against busing and integration. But more important in relating to the Boston example we must think of it as a tragedy. What you have in Boston is the spectacle of working class people fighting among themselves (blacks and whites) to get into, or to retain schools that everybody knows victimize all students, black and white, schools which do little in terms of educating, which are often harmful to any pupil whatever his race.

The solution for blacks is community control. Assimilation is a liberal moral issue. The integration which blacks originally sought has been perverted as most worthwhile goals in this country tend to be. It is not now the integration blacks originally sought, fought for, got killed for. The issue is now in the hands of every cynic, racist, fool, power-monger, and liberal super-person that has been able to get his or her hands into the pie.

Busing and integration on these terms may benefit a few black children, and that is good. But for the majority, equal opportunity lies in having some control and some power in one's own community such that one can create equal opportunity and not have to go begging for it.

A last word. The problem of busing and integration must be viewed in an international context. As we move into 1975 one fact is crystal clear. The world is a world of color. The white gene pool, historically in a minority in the world, is shrinking. If one thinks of how many delegates to the United Nations represent *colored* people the message is clear. Therefore, internationally whites are on the defensive. Integration-assimilation for many of them represents, as the old racist catch/phrase goes, the threat of the "mongrelization of the race." So it does; and it is inevitable.

The issue for many whites is how to control this process and diffuse it and thereby save the race. Busing and assimilation can be seen as "selective assimilation" whereby the "best" of the "under-race" are separated from their brothers and sisters in the ghetto, from their community, their roots. This isolates the masses of the blacks who, leaderless, can be safely labeled inferior, dumb, and expendable. In 10 years bleeding hearts of all stripes will yawn and proclaim, "Well, we tried integration but only a few made it; most are irredeemable, unassimilable, unneeded, and dangerous . . ." Shockley will smile.

Malecai Andrews is professor of kinesiology at California State University at Hayward. He is co-author of Black Language *(Seymour Smith) and author of* Psychoblackology *(Achebe).*

Miriam Wasserman

"There is no 'solution' apart from solutions to the social crisis of the nation. We have to begin to wrest our humanity back from those who prey on us all."

There are a lot of misconceptions about who is responsible for the troubles in the schools. It isn't the rowdy students, or the uncaring teachers, or the "culturally deprived" minorities, or the "racist" poor and working-class whites. All these groups are being miserably served by the schools, and each is being led to believe, and does believe, that one or more of the other groups are to blame. This is a self-defeating and paralyzing belief which only ensures that the schools will continue to be miserable.

The blacks and the whites in South Boston, for example, don't have different or conflicting needs in respect to their children's schooling. They don't even have needs that in any decent society, and especially in one as technologically advanced as ours, couldn't all be met, with plenty left over for the whites in West Virginia, the Chicanos in San Francisco's Mission, the blacks in Harlem, and the Navajos in Arizona. Also, in any particular community or school, the children and the teachers, or the children and the grownups, or the teachers and the parents don't really have conflicting needs. Essentially, what we all need and want—and what we aren't getting from school or from society—is a dignified, orderly, decent political and work life which offers respect and fulfillment.

For in this society respect and dignity are scarce commodities; what little there is around is claimed by the people at the top; and what's left is rationed out in accordance with a hierarchical system in which race, color, national origin, sex, and parents' life style are the major determinants of place.

So it is in schools if teachers buy order at the expense of children's self-respect; if children try to surpass their powerlessness by creating terrible disorder (violence) or by dropping out (drugs); if some working-class parents believe that they can bequeath dignity to their children only by excluding or assaulting the children of others; and if parents and teachers protect their own self-respect by scorning and blaming each other. This is because a very few people in school and in society have a corner on the market of respect and dignity.

Then the victims of this scarcity of dignity prey upon one another. While you could say the respected people, the Important People at the top, are directly or indirectly responsible for the mutual hostilities of the unimportant people, it hardly ever happens that in the mounting violence which has come in recent years to terrorize children and teachers and to spill over from time to time into the streets of South Boston; Ocean Hill–Brownsville, New York; Charlotte, West Virginia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Albany, Georgia; it hardly ever happens anywhere that an Important Person is the victim. (Once a group of normally doc-

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ile bottom-level parents in San Francisco's Chinatown chased their superintendent of schools and two of his assistants down the street till they took refuge in their parked car. And once a few terrorists, claiming to be acting on behalf of the unimportant people, murdered the Oakland, California, superintendent of schools. Neither of these men was among the worst of the class by any means.) But usually when the kids start to fight back, in the ugly ways that people in this society have learned to fight, they rob, beat up, or rape other low-status kids, or those just slightly higher-status, or if they are really bold, a teacher. They know they'd get into bad trouble if they gave it to the principal or the dean of girls, as the avowed murderers of the Oakland superintendent eventually did. Important People usually don't like violence among the unimportant people. But they won't stand for violence against themselves.

What all the violence, in the schools and also in the streets, means is that the various systems for controlling the market on dignity—of which the school is one of the most important—are being attacked and are falling apart. That's a dangerous situation for the ones in control of the market.

On the one hand, in a certain way the mutual hostilities of the unimportants keep the system going. In South Boston, for example, real estate interests have a stake in the outcome of the defense by some whites of "their" turf (antecedent deliberately ambiguous). And in general, the competition of individuals and groups for place in the dignity hierarchy is the force which keeps the hierarchy functioning.

On the other hand, the hostilities and their generally predetermined outcome cause a lot of trouble. If the competition is necessary to keep the system "healthy," as they say, violence, and also self-violence (drugs), interfere. Even middle-class kids—the designated winners in the school game—are so turned off by the lack of dignity and lack of fulfillment in their school lives, and so vacuously overstimulated by the media, from which they get what education they do get, that they are dropping out and are not acquiring even those minimal intellectual skills and disciplines necessary to keep a highly technological society on the road. At the University of California's Berkeley campus, for years the mecca of intellectual kids from all over the country, half the first-year students, top graduates of "good," white, suburban high schools, are assigned to a "bonehead" remedial English course because they can't spell, punctuate, or write a good, clear sentence.

In the meantime, many kids destined for the basement and sub-basement levels of the bureaucracy are denied the opportunity or drained of the will to learn to read at all.

Now people believe that it is literacy which is the key to making it in the system and that the reason the kids at the bottom don't make it is that they are illiterate. So for the past couple of decades Important People, and also the parents and some teachers of the poor kids, have been looking for ways to con the poor kids into reading just well enough so that they can be certified for the lowly jobs which society holds open for them. (Authorities, parents, and teachers have also been looking for ways that the school can compete with TV and keep the middle-class kids inside the schoolhouse walls long enough so that they can be certified for middle-class adulthood.)

The major national program for overcoming the discriminatory school processing of blacks (and latterly other Third World peoples) has been integration-desegregation-busing. This policy, which began to be pushed 20 years ago and has never been achieved except in isolated pockets, was based on the simple but natural belief that the maleducation of black children was caused by the separate schooling of blacks and whites, and on the erroneous belief, mainly among whites, that this situation was confined to the South. Beginning as a popular mass movement powered by some of the bravest people who have marched across the stage of U.S. history, integration-desegregation-busing gradually brought to the nation's attention the school situation of blacks and other poor people in all parts of the country and also gave a serious education imbued with political praxis to tens of thousands of children, adolescents, and adults.

But school integration is no longer a mass political movement or even a mass political demand. Partly because its primary philosophic premise is considered racist; partly because the educational results of integration appear not to be worth the enormous struggle which must be waged against the anti-integrationists who battle and those who simply move to a new suburb; and partly because desegregation or busing weakens the very power base of the black community from which further struggles might be waged, there is less and less enthusiasm for integration-desegregation-busing in most poor black communities (although self-respect requires a defense against anti-busing or anti-desegregation).

Integration-desegregation-busing has now become a policy of the authorities (courts, federal bureaucrats) with community support coming mainly from some middle-class minorities and liberal whites. As imposed by authorities without strong community support, integration-desegregation-busing spoons out to one thirsty group drops of dignity stolen from the shrinking reservoirs of another. It enrages many people (usually white) from whom the drops are stolen and puts the intended beneficiaries (black or other Third World people) in a terrible moral and political double-bind. Once a people's policy which strengthened community and, on a national scale, created loose alliances, integration-desegregation-busing has become an officials' policy which destroys community and prevents alliances.

There is no national "solution" to the school crisis, apart from solutions to the social crisis of the nation. ("Deschooling" is a nihilist, apolitical cry of despair following disillusionment with the romantic, apolitical "free-schooling.") But there is a strategy toward dignity and respect which can contribute to solutions to the social crisis. That strategy is to create communities and build alliances.

Not merely our welfare but our survival as a human society demands that strategy. Where self-conscious communities exist, as in South Boston, or Ocean Hill-Brownsville, or Chinatown, or suburbia, or exurbia, they will be able to save themselves and their children from the predatory dignity barons only by creating alliances with

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one another. Where lonely, powerless, marauding individuals prevail, as in the corridors of the nation's junior and senior high schools, only determined, self-willed communities of citizens (students)—not guards with detention slips, arrest warrants, or clubs—can bring order with dignity.

We have to stop preying on one another and begin to wrest our humanity back from those who prey on us all.

Miriam Wasserman is a teacher and author. Her books include The School Fix: NYC, USA *(Clarion) and* Demystifying Schools: Writings and Experiences *(Praeger).*

Jonathan Kozol

"History is, as the sarcastic student says, an X-rated film. The trouble is that everyone has first been told: I CANNOT ENTER."

Students in upper-class white suburban high schools speak, day after day, of "urban crisis," "minority unrest," "difficult challenges of racism" in "impacted inner-city regions . . ." If they are in Evanston, they speak of racism in Chicago. If they are in Scarsdale, they speak about racism in the Deep South. Whatever it is, it is not where they are or while they live. This is the feeling that I often have about the way they speak: It is not so much that they are defending their own school or neighborhood or temporarily endangered conscience. It is much more as if they are defending their own sense of looking on from outside at all serious matters such as those which take place nightly on TV or such as those which take place in the pages of a book.

* * *

I ask this question to a class of twelfth grade pupils in a school in upper New York State: "What is the purpose of your work in history? What *is* history in your point of view? Why do you study it? What is it for?"

"History is everything that happened in the past and now is over."

"History is cycles . . . processes . . . inevitable patterns . . ."

"History is what is done by serious and important people."

I ask this question: "Is it in your power to *change* history? Is it in the power of someone within this class?"

The answer: "No . . . not us . . . not ordinary people."

I ask them, then: "Who *does* bring change into the world?"

One student says: "I guess . . . the leaders do."

I ask: "Could *you* be leaders, if you wanted to be leaders?"

He answers: "No . . . none of us comes from the important families."

Than I ask this: "Is there another time within your life, maybe in 10 years or in 20 years or more, when you might have a different sense of your potential impact on the world, or on this nation?"

One student laughs: "Give us 200 years."

I ask: "How do you get that cold, sarcastic sound within your voice?"

He doesn't grow defensive. He just answers in a calm and lifeless tone: "I know quite well that I'm not going to be part of anything that matters . . . not anything that matters here and now . . ."

Then I say this: "How is it that *some* people, somehow, people like Richard Nixon, can be part of history – but others, you, for instance, have to stay on the outside?"

The student who has spoken to me most listens a minute, holds himself in check a minute longer and then answers in a set of slow and measured words. He is a strong, intelligent-looking boy, well over six feet tall, with cold blue eyes and with a sharp-edged look along his jaw. "History," he says – "it's like those shows and movies that they have on 42nd Street in New York City. For kids at least . . . THIS SHOW IS RATED X: KEEP OUT."

In one corridor within the social studies section of this modern antiseptic, nearly all-white school, there is a six-foot poster: "Occupations To Which Interest In History May Lead." The list is devastating, perfect and consistent with the words and comprehensions of the children that the school turns out. If the children work hard, and can demonstrate an interest in the field of history or economics or the like, then they can expect one day to be one of these kinds of specialist or expert: 1) archaeologist, 2) historian, 3) curator, 4) writer, 5) critic, 6) anthropologist, 7) research assistant, 8) librarian, 9) teacher of history.

Nowhere in the list do we find two words to suggest the possible goal of being ONE WHO ENTERS HISTORY. Every goal, or job, or dream, or aspiration listed here, is one of narrative description: critic, commentator, teacher, curator, librarian . . . not union leader, student-organizer, rebel, revolutionary, saint, or senator. "WHY STUDY HISTORY?" asks the wall-sized poster. The answer that we get is plain and uncomplex: in order to *teach* it, *total* it, *tell* it in writing, *cash* it for profit, or *list* it alphabetically in the school library. School teaches history to children in the same way that it teaches syntax, grammar, and word preference: in terms that guarantee their prior exile from its passion and its transformation. It lifts up children from the present, denies them powerful access to the future, and robs them of all ethical repossession of the past. History is, as the sarcastic student says, an X-rated film. The trouble is that everyone we know, love, touch, hold, dream to be, or ever might become, has first been told: I CANNOT ENTER.

Adapted from the Mexican edition, "Work in Progress," to be published in the U.S., autumn, 1975. Copyright © Jonathan Kozol, 1974, Cuernavaca, Mexico.

Jonathan Kozol is author of Free Schools *and* Death at an Early Age *(Houghton Mifflin).*

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An End to Affluence:

"The United States now experiences the same separation of the people from its land and resources as did Europe when this country was founded 200 years ago. That is, perhaps, the ultimate measure of the end of U.S. affluence. Things have come full circle."

The elections of 1974, despite the wiping out of Republicanism as an immediately operative force, were in reality not an expression of a new choice but a national evasion of decision. There was no discussion of the possibility that America had become permanently warped into something unfamiliar, nor of the need for the nation to accommodate itself to circumstances utterly different from its past experience. Instead, what was implicitly promised—by liberals and conservatives in concert—was that a pathway would be opened back to yesterday. The past, with its supposed innocence and stable prosperity, would be recaptured. The future would *be* the past, if only the right men were put in office.

There did seem to be basic differences in the ways proposed to escape the present. On the one hand, a period of reduced consumption, to be offset by increased productivity over the long term. On the other hand, increased consumption and increased federal spending to pay for it, with shifts of funds from some areas to more urgent ones to minimize the total increase in government deficits. Scylla or Charybdis—the obdurate granite of imposed poverty or the sucking whirlpool of heightened monetary inflation—each proposed as a magical doorway backwards in time. And, of course, as a palliative for this queasy return passage into what was, the nostrum of redistribution of the tax burden was offered as an act of "realism" by conservatives, of "morality" by the liberals. The problem, everyone implied, was essentially technical, of finding the fastest route to yesterday.

But there is no way back. The past cannot be recaptured. In the sense of its irretrievability, the American reality of even three years ago is by now as remote from us as the neolithic age. The distance is not marked by time but events. The quality of what was America has changed irreversibly because the world has changed. American politics as practiced are consequently irrelevant to today's realities, except that their evasions exacerbate the difficulties in which the nation is entangled.

by Terence McCarthy

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"America may, in fact, be departing from its past abundance into a future of dearth, and of conflict not only between social classes but within classes, so that some shall be less deprived than others. In a word, America's age of affluence is over."

[TO A NEW WORLD]

Although we cannot return to the past, it is essential that we revisit it in mind if we are to understand today. Historically, and despite such grievous interruptions as the Civil War and the Great Depression, the American experience had been a rising continuum with a corresponding rise in personal expectations. Originally, the expectations were of parents with respect to their offspring. The people were poor but their poverty visibly diminished until any family—outside slavery and racial prejudice—could confidently say "We are doing what we are doing because we do not intend that our children shall carry the burden we are carrying." Events justified this confidence for most—and heightened it.

In the years since World War II, acceleration of the social increase was so extraordinary that the average family could expect—and did experience—an elevation from poverty into abundance, not for the next generation but in its own. Abundance, in fact, verged upon profligacy, upon waste so prodigious that Professor Abba P. Lerner could correctly comment that the average American had available more consumable wealth and more mechanical energy than the richest ruler of any ancient empire.

Nothing like it had been known before. It came to be interpreted as a personal quality of Americans. But what was continuous has become discontinuous; what was accelerating is decelerating. At best, what for so long was rising is now leveling off. At worst, the leveling is short-term, with a tendency towards decline, indefinite in duration and possibly quickening.

America may, in fact, be departing from its past abundance into a future of dearth, and of conflict not only between social classes but within classes—as to who shall be deprived, and of how much they shall be deprived – so that some shall be less deprived than others.

In a word, America's age of affluence is over.

What is affluence? Few have pondered this. Fewer still have grasped that affluence and abundance are not synonyms although the former may cause and magnify the latter.

Affluence is a "flowing towards" without expenditure of effort, exactly as rivers flow effortlessly towards the sea. In social terms, affluence is a conflux of riches without any associated sacrifice of labor, capital, or time.

Since the founding of the colonies, America has normally been characterized by affluence, though the colonists were at first in desperate poverty. There was, even before the Revolution, a swelling inflow of capital, technology, manpower, and—by the seizure of land from the Indians—seemingly unlimited natural resources for capital and labor jointly to exploit. There was a whole continent for the taking.

It is no coincidence that the founding of the Republic and publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* each occurred in 1776. The time was ripe for Smith's synthesis

Photo by James Motlow/Jeroboam

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of emerging capitalism, equally ripe for America to throw off its feudal imperial bonds and—a people of farmers and artisans—to embark upon the one undiluted capitalist experiment in all the history of mankind.

That experiment might have failed had it not been that capital was accumulating abroad in countries where feudatory landholding limited the ability of capital to vest itself in the earth and its resources, and where the laborer had no hope of ever owning the land he worked or of practicing a craft outside the monopolies of the craft guilds. Abroad was constriction and servitude; in America, openness and possible rewards for risks forbidden to be taken in the outside world. In other lands, the poor were confined not only by serfdom and poverty but also by the legal constraints of their service obligations, and by the limits of their village, town, county, or national boundaries. In America, horizon lay beyond horizon, boundless.

Reward followed upon risk—and risk was freely taken. Not all succeeded but the ratio of success to failure was high enough to attract still more risk takers—and risk capital—to these shores. Increase in population, swelled by immigration, insured growth in markets at home. Cultivation of free land not only fed Americans amply but created foreign markets for American wheat with which to feed the factory laborers of Europe, whose industrial output poured into this country to swell still further the American capacity to produce and to diversify its production. Capital multiplied, and population.

This triad of attractive forces—expanding agriculture, increasing population and markets, and high rewards to industrial capital—caused liquid capital and skilled labor to flow irresistibly from England, Germany, France, magnifying the growing abundance of America. *This* was America's classic age of affluence.

Note, however, that this affluence of America—this unrequited flow of capital and labor from abroad—mirrored not one but two realities. One was America itself, the land of opportunity. The second was the outside world where opportunity existed for the few, none for the masses. The special circumstances of America were undeniably a magnet. But had Europe been free of feudal vestiges—of monarchies, artificial boundaries, and constraints upon the occupational opportunities of its people—that magnet might have been of insufficient force. Above all, had land been free in Europe, the vast migration to the United States would not have occurred. Europe was not overcrowded. In fact, before the potato famine of the 1840s, Ireland was the only densely populated land of Europe, with 2.6 acres per person—almost twice the population density reached by Europe more than a century later.

American affluence was as much a consequence of the conditions of the outside world as of the circumstances of America itself. This affluence needed, in the thermodynamic sense, and underwent, repulsion from abroad as well as the attraction it itself could exercise. Both must coexist—and they did coexist—for what we call the American experience to be actualized.

[TREASURY OF THE WORLD]

This specific affluence of America's 18th and 19th centuries could not continue forever. The country filled up. Free land grew scarcer and less favorably situated. The corporations developed and excluded the people from the land's resources. Proportionately, the capital inflow slowed down. Rewards diminished in relation to risks, largely because foreign capital inflows met the obstacle of the, by then, enormous domestic capital accumulation, aggressively monopolistic of markets and raw materials. Foreign capital was denied the returns it had once secured with ease. And immigration began to be unwelcome, largely because, as organized labor expanded in the U.S. in response to monopolization by the growing corporations, there were fears that uninterrupted inflow of people jeop-

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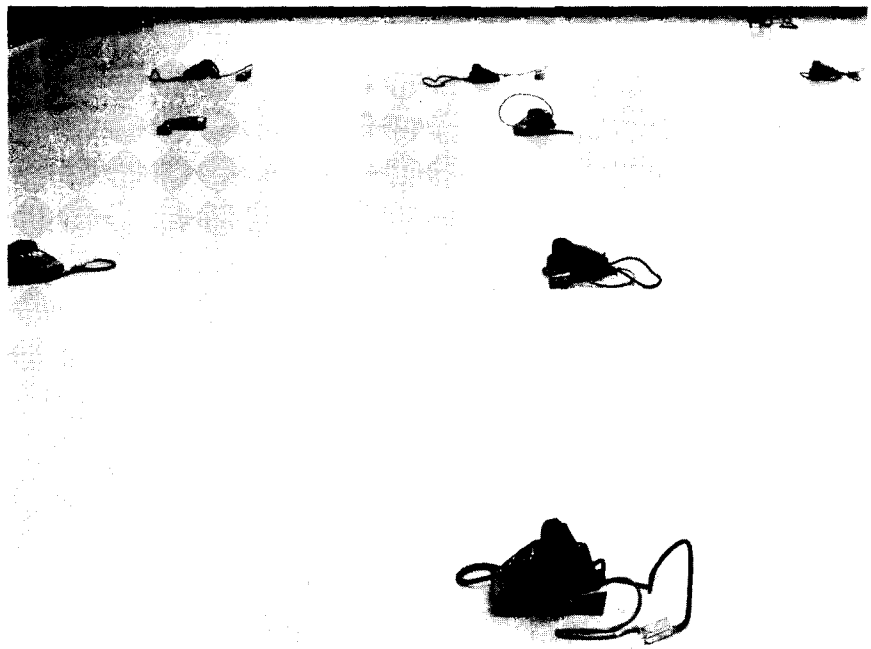

"U.S. affluence came to an end March 1, 1973, when Europe compelled the dollar to float. There was no longer a pretense that the dollar was the world's one reserve currency. Europe would no longer finance U.S. wars or the U.S. cost of living. The U.S. was on its own."

ardized established wage rates and denied their increase. In 1924 strict quantitative limits were imposed on immigration, subject to quotas based on national origins. American affluence, in its 150-year-old sense of the term, had come to its end.

This did not mean that affluence itself had ceased. Affluence changed its form but did so not under the double forces of repulsion and attraction but singularly, under the single pressure of events abroad. The U.S. role was of passive recipient, not aggressive seeker, of a renewed unstoppable inflow.

Hitler came to power in 1933. Japan had already embarked upon its Manchurian conquest. War and the threat of war drove a flood of capital from Europe and Asia to the United States, seeking not reward but safety. This was America's second-stage affluence, determined entirely by the circumstances of foreign countries.

This time, the inflow took on the specific form of gold. During the 20 years of 1914-1933, the U.S. gold stock had increased by only $4.4 billion (measured at $35 per troy ounce) even though domestic production of new-mined gold exceeded $1.9 billion in the period. In 20 years of commercial activities, the U.S. had earned only $2.5 billion of gold by world trade and capital movements, for an annual average of about $125 million. But in the seven years following 1934 (in which year the dollar was first devalued, to $35 per troy ounce) the U.S. gold stock grew by $14.5 billion (almost $2.1 billion per year) with no corresponding increase in exports of goods and services. In 1938, the year of most rapid decline in industrial production in U.S. history, gold flowed inwards in the amount of $1.7 billion.

This was a refugee influx of treasure, which alarmed the U.S. Treasury because of its potentially inflationary effects upon the money supply. The Treasury therefore isolated this gold inflow from the monetary stock, effectively sterilizing it—until war was declared upon the United States by the Axis Powers. Thereupon, and promptly, the refugee gold was incorporated into the nation's money reserves. It was made to serve—and did serve—as the cost-free base for credit financing of U.S. government expenditures during World War II. The gold inflow was treated, for credit purposes, as though it had all occurred overnight. It permitted, during 1942-1945, issues of three- to five-year U.S. government securities at an average annual yield of less than 1.33 percent and of three-month treasury bills at an average yield of 0.362 percent. *Affluence par excellence.*

By 1950, the U.S. gold stock had risen to more than $24.2 billion, almost 64 percent of the nation's total money stock and, although forbidden to be owned by private citizens, equal to 89 percent of the currency in circulation in that year. America's future—and its problems of today—were largely determined by this plethora of inward flowing gold. Its incorporation into the nation's money stock created so vast a liquidity that growth in public and private debt seemed, by comparison, meaningless. The na-

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tion could wage war without appreciable domestic sacrifices by the people. America's part in World War II was paid for—measured in terms of its credit base—by the foreign gold which had sought haven here.

Simultaneously and as a consequence, the United States—undamaged by a war which ravaged all the world outside the Western Hemisphere—underwent an extraordinary multiplication of its productive capacity. Military-civilian planning during 1940-1945 increased productive capabilities in all directions, financed by refugee gold as the foundation of the needed monetary credits. What, in effect, had been an inadvertent inflow of wealth produced—and compressed extremely in time—the self-same effects which the historical inflows of labor and capital had produced gradually in protracted earlier periods.

This time, however, there was no movement towards the land. On the contrary, an internal migration occurred from the farms to the urban centers. Farm employment in 1940 had been about 11 million, including working children and wives of farm families. By 1945 it had declined some 700,000; by 1950 by more than a million. Between 1950 and 1969 the agricultural employed labor force of people 16 years of age and over declined by more than 4 million. This was because of technical changes in farming such that man-hours per acre in the growing of corn declined 79 percent in 1964-68 compared with 1935-49; in wheat, 67 percent; hay 50 percent; potatoes 35 percent; cotton 66 percent. Man-hours per hundred bushels in the same periods declined 93 percent for corn; 84 percent for wheat; 67 percent for hay; 80 percent for potatoes; 85 percent for cotton; 47 percent for tobacco.

The overall index of farm output per man-hour in 1969 compared with 1940 showed an increase of 120 percent in meat animals; 353 percent in milk cows; 645 percent in poultry; 975 percent in feed grains; 248 percent in hay and forage; 459 percent in human food grains; 159 percent in vegetables; 120 percent in fruit and nuts; 365 percent in sugar crops; 589 percent in cotton; 72 percent in tobacco; 539 percent in vegetable oil crops. For all U.S. agriculture during 1947-1970, output per man-hour rose 287 percent compared with 97 percent in manufacturing industry—an unbelievable increase.

Over and above the affluence of the pre-war inflow of gold, the United States experienced not only abundance but superfluity of agricultural output. Not only was there no question that it could feed its own people on a rising scale of food intake: it could feed much of the world besides.

[COMING FULL CIRCLE]

The error was made of assuming that these huge productivity gains in agriculture could continue indefinitely. They could not. Mechanization of agriculture, increase in the unit size of farms, and increase of output per acre and per man-hour through synthetic fertilization and the use of pesticides and herbicides encountered natural limits whose approach was discernible by as early as 1966. This astonishing growth in abundance—as with so many American industrial characteristics—was self-limiting. By now, we have reached those limits, or something close to them. This is why Earl Butz has brought more than 10 million additional acres into cultivation. What increase in rationalization of farm practices can no longer accomplish, increase in acreage might. But how many useable acres are there left? The limit here needs no mathematical skills to define.

There is no point to my recounting here what I wrote about in the June 1973 issue of RAMPARTS as to the effects which emptying the U.S. granaries, by massive grain shipments to Russia and China, must have upon domestic food prices, high farm productivity or not. We have all experienced these effects. Dog food is today a familiar item in the diet of hundreds of thousands of American families.

Photo by Roger Lubin/Jeroboam

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LABOR-HOURS PER UNIT OF PRODUCTION			
	1935-39	*1945-49*	*1964-68*
CORN FOR GRAIN			
labor-hours per 100 bushels	108	53	8
WHEAT			
labor-hours per 100 bushels	67	34	11
HAY			
labor-hours per short ton	9	6	3
POTATOES			
labor-hours per short ton	20	12	4
COTTON			
labor-hours per bale	209	146	32
TOBACCO			
labor-hours per 100 lbs	47	39	25

INCREASE IN FARM OUTPUT PER LABOR-HOUR (1940 to 1969)	
	1969 (in percent) to 1940
Meat animals	220.0%
Milk cows	453.0
Poultry	745.0
Feed Grains	1075.0
Hay and Forage	348.0
Food grains (human)	559.0
Vegetables	259.2
Fruit and nuts	219.9
Sugar crops	465.0
Cotton	689.0
Tobacco	172.0
Oil Crops	639.0

As the examples indicate, gains in U.S. agricultural productivity have been prodigious, with an overall increase of 287.3% between 1947 and 1970. By contrast, manufacturing productivity during that period increased by 97.3%.

What needs to be discussed, however, is why people are going hungry in light of the vast productivity of U.S. agriculture. Weather and crop conditions have had some influence, it is true. But this influence is marginal. The reality is that America has ceased to be affluent.

The free net inflow has ended. Therefore farm export politics are designed to offset this cessation of affluence, to compensate for the abrupt halt to the free net inflow, by selling to other countries that part of American farm output needed at home, whatever the effects upon the American diet and food prices.

Actually, there is involved a concept much more brutal than this. It is intended, by artificially changing the physical supply/demand ratios of U.S. farm products in domestic markets, to bring about a reduction in domestic consumption versus domestic output, so that price increases will yield the same results of reducing consumption as rationing, the unconsumed balance to go to exports, to offset cessation of the free net inflow of gold.

The imperative question is why this is thought necessary. To answer it, we must again revisit the past—this time the recent past of the postwar period.

First, however, what must be clearly understood is the retrograde quality of the present agricultural policy. A century and more ago, growth in U.S. farm output beyond the consumption needs of its citizens permitted exchange of farm products for imported capital goods and even more for finished industrial items, textiles in particular. In fact, the wheat-cloth ratio which was the reality of U.S. foreign commerce in the early 19th century is still expounded *ad nauseam* in every professorial text on the theory of international trade. What Butz et al. are trying to make real is that those ancient terms of trade hold true today.

But there are differences, and these are critical. American wheat once found markets overseas at prices determined by the U.S. domestic price plus the costs of carriage, freight, insurance, and handling. This permitted cheap labor in Europe to supply cheap industrial products to the U.S. Today, instead, the domestic price of U.S. farm products is determined by the marginal demand price overseas, higher by far than the U.S. cost plus normal markups.

Also, farm output is a renewable, extensible resource capable of regeneration year after year and, in times past, was exchanged largely for foreign industrial products (cotton, woolens, silk cloths) whose raw materials were themselves renewable and extensible into the indefinite future; the foreign labor force used to produce imported goods was equally renewable by export of U.S. grains to sustain it.

Substantially, the essential exchange was of renewable and naturally extensible items of commerce for almost equally renewable items produced abroad. In cotton cloth, even the raw materials, worked up abroad and shipped to the U.S. as finished items, were grown—and were annually regrown—in the United States by the early years of the 20th century.

This has changed, inclusive of the development of petroleum-based synthetic fibers, and with it has changed America's place in the world. What the Department of Agriculture is now attempting is to create conditions such that the renewable farm products of America will be exchanged without interruption for the exhaustible material products of the world outside.

This is the fact behind the revolt of the OPEC nations, the quadrupling of prices of petroleum imports, and the nationalization of U.S. corporate-owned raw material resources in country after country. The world outside the United States would tolerate, however reluctantly, exchange of America's renewable resources for the at least partially renewable resources of other peoples. It would even accept, at fairly constant physical levels, exchange of its exhaustible resources for America's renewable resources. But it would not—and dared not—contemplate acceleration of U.S. demand for the exhaustible resources of others in

(Continued on page 72)

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Behavior Mod:

Is the Pigeon Always Right?

"Behavior mod evades as far as possible questions of guilt, sin, intent, or moral judgment. It makes no appeals to conscience and shows no punitive intent. . . . Thus a school in which children are strapped or drugged is about as far from behavior mod as it can get."

The use of psychotechnical procedures and devices to modify human behavior has become commonplace. Schools, prisons, mental hospitals, and increasingly—as the appalling disclosures of Amnesty International reveal—the national state itself, rely on such means to socialize and control those subject to them. Many of us feel both alarmed and confused by the extensive array of practices now used. The technical manipulation of human behavior and attitudes has become institutionalized in so many different ways that it is hard to be sure just what is taking place. And not all the objectionable practices are objectionable for the same reasons.

For example, people who object to the use of behavior modification programs in schools often go on to complain of the widespread use of mood-altering drugs like Ritalin to control the behavior of children teachers find disruptive, using the pretext that they are "hyperkinetic." The two practices thus tend to become linked. But the use of drugs to control disruptive behavior is utterly inconsistent with the doctrines of behavior mod, which would regard this as a very gross and not really psychological way of controlling human behavior, having nothing in common with operant conditioning. This does not, of course, mean that school personnel who are pragmatic and insensitive may not use both, but their effect on the person subjected to them, and the reason for condemning their use, is quite different.

Drugs are used, sometimes with fiendish cruelty, in aversive therapy, of which the most familiar example is the treatment portrayed in *A Clockwork Orange.* Aversive therapy is a form of behavior modification and an abhorrent one—and its use seems to be spreading. One proposed program which was to have been introduced into a prison in North Carolina last year was aborted by the courts on constitutional grounds; but others making use of forms of negative reinforcement that sound equally cruel are continually being developed.

Orthodox proponents of behavior mod, however, usually don't think too much of aversive therapy. The doctrine holds, on the basis of a great deal of evidence from animal experimentation, that positive reinforcement is a much more effective form of operant conditioning than negative reinforcement which if severe is likely to so disturb or antagonize the subject that he or she won't learn anything from it. Strict behaviorists prefer to "extinguish" behavior they regard as undesirable by ignoring it or isolating its practitioner, while rewarding each successive approximation of the behavior they are trying to foster.

This similarity to accepted social practice leads most behaviorists to insist that behavior modification is really nothing new; it's something all of us do every day in the course of ordinary social interaction. But this is false. Families, schools, prisons, and society itself do, of course, make use of rewards and punishments more or less systematically to train people to do what the authorities want; and they

by Edgar Z. Friedenberg

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"You can train a pigeon to execute a complicated dance perfectly by the pure application of behavior modification; indeed, there is probably no other way to do it. But such a pigeon cannot be said to have developed an interest in ballet."

always have. But there are fundamental differences between the use of rewards and punishments in socialization and the use of positive and negative reinforcement in behavior modification.

[THE POWER TO WILL]

The most important difference has to do with the function of the will, which is basic to the western concept of morality. Our moral system holds that both good and evil must be willed; one cannot sin inadvertently, and there can be no crime without criminal intent. Traditional moralists therefore think of themselves not as encouraging desirable behavior and discouraging undesirable behavior, but as "teaching children the difference between right and wrong." The most authoritarian moralists, steeped in the doctrine of original sin, often used to speak of the need to "break the will of the child," forcing the child through guilt or fear to repress impulses they deemed evil, which included most spontaneous and natural behavior.

Nobody does anything like this to a laboratory rat or a pigeon; and so far the behaviorists would seem to occupy the higher moral ground. And they certainly have the easier technical problems. The Victorians, if I may use that term loosely and none-too-accurately to identify older-fashioned moralists, could make very little use of positive reinforcement, since they were trying to establish norms at the same time that they were trying to influence behavior: that is, they were trying to teach people what they ought to enjoy at the same time they were trying to get them to do it. But to serve as positive reinforcement the reward offered, however trivial, must be genuinely prized already—the pigeon, as behaviorists sometimes say, is always right. Victorian moralism at its worst sought to use the same occasions both to offer rewards and to define those rewards as desirable—a technical error no Skinnerian would be likely to make. Good little boys won prizes that could hardly have given them much satisfaction: edifying books that no one could read with pleasure; minor posts in school or church that cost them more status among their peers than they gained among adults. The phrase "brownie points" for status so earned still conveys the position exactly.

This is clearly one reason for the emphasis on competitive sports in British public-school life, both as a means of socialization and of selecting future leaders. For of course success on the playing fields did confer status in the peer group as well as among adults, and was ardently desired. It could be won, moreover, only by displaying a mixture of guile and brutality that established clearly that the sanctimonious lessons of official morality had not been so thoroughly internalized as to disqualify the student for future public service. England's battles were won on the playing fields of Eton in the sense that these provided a crucial testing ground for identifying those young members of the ruling class who could combine the most essential ingredients of a viceregal presence: sanctimonious adherence to an honorable creed; and the ability and disposition to kick the shit out of an adversary, especially one beyond the pale, literally or figuratively. By weighing points won on the playing field more heavily than brownie points, pre-World War I society insured itself against awarding actual positions of leadership to people who conformed too daintily to moral precepts.

Much of what we sense as freedom in western bourgeois life stems, however, from precisely this moralistic, inconsistent, and thoroughly Skinnerian use of reward and punishment—not to modify behavior, but to "build character." For this traditional use carries within itself the seeds of rebellion that have permitted Western Civilization to redeem itself from time to time. The essence of the traditional approach is that socialization requires that morality be internalized; that the child or the prisoner or the revolutionary be ultimately led to accept and endorse the creed of his subjectors—to agree with them about the difference between right and wrong. Thereafter, his conscience or his superego, however one wished to view it, is at the disposal of society; he has become his own narc. Crime and sin, conversely, can thereafter be defined as, necessarily, willful acts and their perpetrators as guilty.

When this sort of socialization fails, it may fail absolutely, as with members of the counterculture who, having come to despise the promised rewards of affluence, can no longer be threatened by poverty; though as they grow older they may find their exclusion from a meaningful role in society less supportable than their austere standard of living. These are the children who were socialized primarily by offering them rewards they were expected to learn to enjoy, whether they wanted them or not, in order to make their place in the middle class. When they were punished, they were punished by withholding these same rewards whose denial was ambiguous in its effects. This applies even to withholding affection—the standard middle-class punishment—which can be devastating to an infant or even to an older child before adjusting to it. But our recollections of our mothers must remind us that there comes a time when almost any child of six or older may feel about her threat to take her leave of him much as Hamlet did about Polonius's similar threat. Punishment affords many middle-class children about the only privacy they ever get.

Socialization that seeks to use conventional rewards as positive reinforcement before it has established that they are, in fact, rewards, is likely to come unstuck, strewing society with rebels, hippies, and other protagonists of free-

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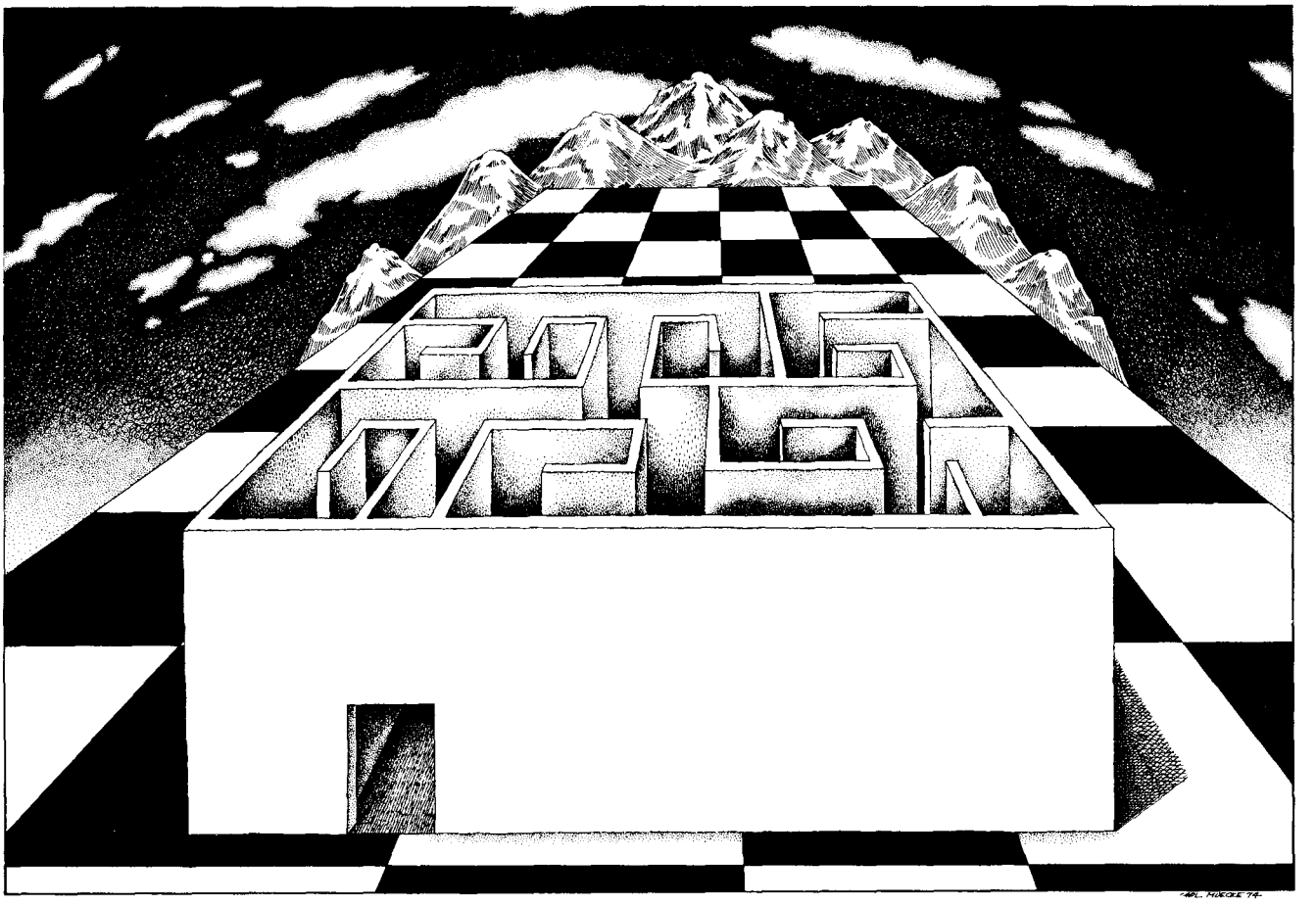

dom. Even when it does not come unstuck as completely as that, the fact that our normal socialization attempts to mold the will—rather than simply elicit desirable behavior—leaves the will dormant but intact and ready, if sufficiently provoked, to pit itself against society. As Lawrence Kohlberg has shown in his fundamental work on the development of moral awareness in human beings, those few who reach the highest levels of moral awareness become enemies of society through the very effectiveness of their socialization: they are people who have actually internalized the values of the society rather than its rules. These include of course, the nobler leaders of the peace and civil rights movements, who had been so well socialized into the western tradition that they accepted and acted upon the fact that sin must be willful and includes, especially, willful obedience to evil law. At this point, self-awareness and moral insight converge with a blinding flash and sometimes explosive violence, illuminating the institutions of a corrupt and unjust society and shaking them to—and sometimes from—their foundations.

[BEYOND FREEDOM]

All this could be avoided by the widespread use of behavior modification, which does not seek to mold or develop the will, but to avoid probate. Behavior mod evades as far as possible questions of guilt, sin, intent, or moral judgment. It makes no appeals to conscience and shows no punitive intent. This is why the scientists to whom Alex is delivered in *A Clockwork Orange* seem so much nicer than the jailers do. But in fact they are much crueler, not because they wish to punish him more severely, but because they do not care about him at all except as the object of their psychotechnology. He can neither seduce them, nor arouse their pity or their rage. Where the prison officials represent as best they can a lower-middle-class vision of the wrath and occasionally the pity of God, exacting from Alex in return an unbearable semblance of piety, the scientists at the institute exemplify His absence, a severer form of Hell. They cannot be placated, obeyed, or disobeyed; and they are not trying to teach Alex anything about the difference between right and wrong. They are simply trying to condition him so that he can no longer respond violently in any situation, whatever its moral context.

But this is aversive therapy which, though a form of operant conditioning, is not representative of most programs of behavior modification. What distinguishes behavior mod is not the use of bizarre techniques to inflict pain. It is rather the attempt to evoke the behavior sought through "reinforcing" it and "extinguishing" undesired alternatives while deliberately avoiding the moral confrontation involved. The outcome sought is conformity without conflict and without the need or perhaps even the capacity for moral judgment. One could even, of course, develop an apparent "non-conformity" in this way by responding favorably to a child's attempts to argue and "answer back" and to go off and "do his own thing" while ignoring his

Illustrations by Carl Muecke

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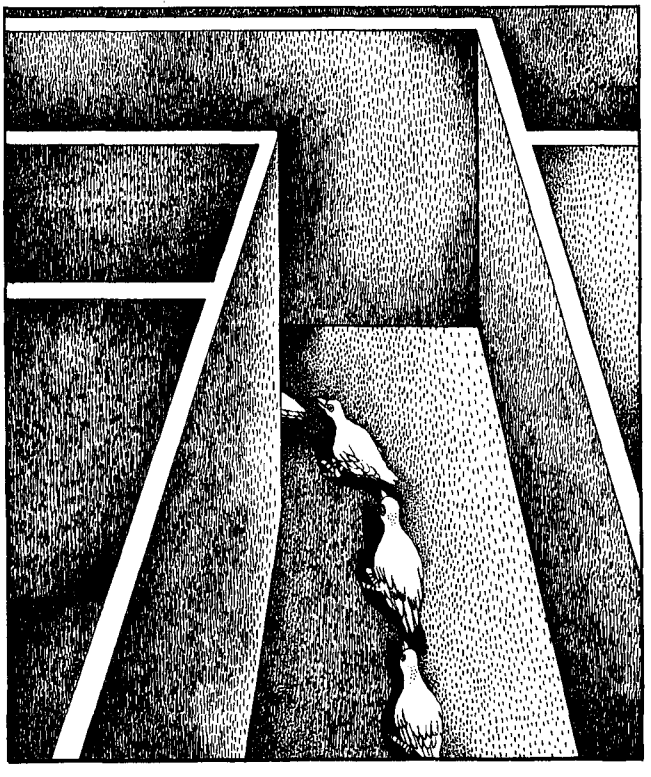
"Behavior modification provides some highly effective techniques for reducing the occurrence of undesirable behavior. But it offers itself as an inauthentic substitute for love and will, and hence is essentially frivolous about existence. It leaves its practitioners in the moral predicament of using a tool on people they should have responded to as total beings."

efforts to be cooperative and join the group. One could encourage a child's—or an adult's—propensities for artistic or musical expression while cooling out his or her interests in and abilities in sport; or, of course, vice-versa.

Isn't this, then, precisely what goes on for better or for worse in the process of normal socialization? Isn't this how little boys learn not to cook and sew and little girls learn not to play football? Isn't this the way liberal Jewish parents raise radical Jewish children? I would say no, not by a damned sight. For in all these cases, the emotional and moral influences that mold the child are authentically and spontaneously present, for better or for worse, in the family and the culture as it is encountered; and the spontaneity and authenticity contribute to growth and mediate constraint; they are lively irritants. Every culture establishes certain roles and encourages those aspects of development that suit individuals to fill them, while discouraging others. But a culture is not a conspiracy; and the boy whose parents are trying to reinforce his limited interests in football may well have a brother who is a disappointment to his family—but not to himself—because he is a poet; a sister who is a policewoman, and an uncle who, as *chef de cuisine* at *Le Parvenu,* has the highest status in the family.



Even today, the world is a lot less ordered than a psychological laboratory, or a school in which children are given candy tokens for promptness or achievement and ignored if they are late or dilatory. Furthermore, there are errant and rebellious teachers just as there are students. Jim Herndon still teaches in Daly City, and manages to survive in his native land even though things ain't the way they're supposed to be. When Tierra Firma Junior High converts to behavior mod, they won't be able to keep him any more; and students who don't want their behavior modified will have no more place to hide.

Since the world is rife with oppression, conflict, and injustice, neither the school nor the family is likely to be free of them; and a child who had been so singularly fortunate as never to have encountered them there would probably find adult life astonishingly uncomfortable. Nevertheless, even at their worst, the school and the family, like the Austrian bureaucracy under the later Hapsburgs, are usually redeemed by their inefficiency and inconsistency, which make it possible to learn to be a human being there as elsewhere in the world. In a school that deals with pupils according to principles of behavior modification this would be far less likely; since how the teachers, and so far as possible, schoolmates, respond to a child is programed in advance with the intent of encouraging behavior defined by the school as socially desirable and starving out that which is less desirable. His experience of how other people respond to him becomes very limited: he may never learn, for example, how angry he makes them if his teachers have decided that displays of anger reinforce offensive behavior by providing recognition, and prescribe a good, hard ignoring instead.

Behavior modification is planned to mold desirable behavior directly, without rooting it in character or ethical purpose. It seeks to operate at Kohlberg's lowest level of moral judgment: behavior is good because it is rewarded. This is a serious denial of the humanity of the person subjected to it. But I think, to be fair, one must also state that this is the worst that can be said of it. As I have indicated, orthodox practitioners of behavior modification are less likely to be punitive than ordinary teachers or parents, because they have found negative reinforcement is an inefficient and unreliable way of extinguishing undesired behavior. This is not as satisfactory a reason for avoiding it as respect for the dignity of the victim; but it does mean that a school in which children are strapped or drugged in order to control their behavior is about as far from behavior mod as it can get.

There are other objections, however. Behavior modification programs by their very nature rely heavily on ex-

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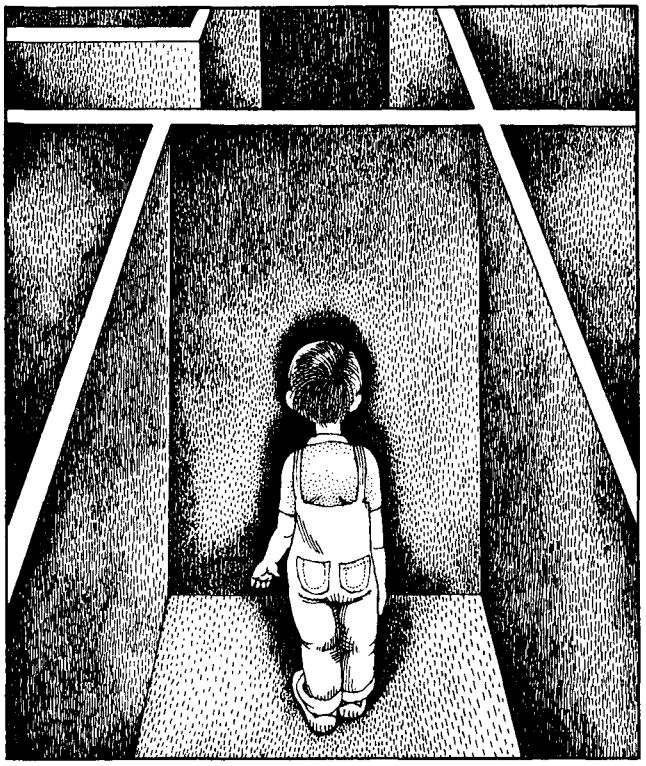
trinsic rewards; and these rewards, unlike school grades, are not even supposed to be granted in recognition of excellent performance but simply as pleasurable reinforcement for behavior desired by someone else. You can, indeed, train a pigeon to execute a complicated dance perfectly by the pure application of behavior modification techniques; indeed, there is probably no other way to do it. But such a pigeon cannot be said to have developed an interest in ballet. Everybody knows the old statistical saw about how 20 chimpanzees locked up in a room with 20 typewriters and an inexhaustible supply of paper would eventually write, among other things, *War and Peace.* If the primate lab were run according to the principles of behavior mod, and each primate reinforced for every phrase that resembled one of Tolstoi's, the task might be accomplished in 50 years. It would not leave the monkeys in a frame of mind, however, to go ahead and tackle *Anna Karenina* on their own.

Children educated by the techniques of behavior modification may not even know what ordinary people mean by being interested in something they do well. It must be conceded, however, that school grades which, in any case, are as extrinsic as the tokens or bits of candy that successful participants in behavior mod programs usually get, have also come to have almost as little to do with achievement and interests, as academic standards are adapted to meet the strains imposed by demographic and cultural change. An 'A' in a New York City high school today has about as much meaning as the free rum drink most Caribbean hotels give arriving guests to make them feel at home and avert culture shock.

[PUSHBUTTON MORALITY]

Much more serious ethical questions arise, however, with reference to aversive therapy. Although aversive therapy always involves negative reinforcement by doing something disagreeable and often agonizing or terrifying to the client on whom it is being practiced, it is totally different in its intent and psychological function from torture, and should be clearly distinguished from it. I think it is worse, though the choice of the lesser of two such evils is hardly worth making.

The painful stimuli used in aversive therapy are usually much less severe than those used in torture—though not always; both have made use of certain drugs that arrest respiration and arouse the feeling of impending death by suffocation, which is probably the ultimate in terror. But the torturer at least respects his victim to the extent of attributing to him a will to be broken; though with modern techniques which disorient the victim as they torment him, he hasn't much chance to resist in the long run. Torturers, moreover, do not usually want to alter their victim's mode of behavior in general, but have very specific ends. They want to extract a confession or information, and the less the victim is altered in the process the more plausible the confession will be. Torture is nearly always clandestine; and its revelation is an embarrassment to its practitioners. Its prevalence in the present era is, I should judge, essentially evidence of the dignity constitutional democracy once possessed, as well as of its decline. It flourishes in situations in which people still suppose themselves to possess certain rights that have in fact vanished, but have never been taken off the books. To achieve a final and conclusive victory, the torturer finds it most helpful if he can bring his victim into open court to deny that he has been tortured.



Aversive therapy differs from torture in almost all these respects. It is not clandestine, though the actual details may be played down for PR purposes. The existence of the program, however, is not denied; in fact it is usually reported as a sign of technical progress in therapy or criminology. Those who accept aversive therapy usually are called volunteers, though in fact they offer themselves under extreme social coercion—usually under the threat of becoming a social outcast. And it is used only under one set of circumstances.

Aversive therapy can be applied only to mess up and spoil something that gives the client or patient great pleasure, but that gets him into enough trouble that he is willing to allow that pleasure to be spoiled by being mixed with other sensations sufficiently disagreeable to overwhelm it, and possibly him as well. It differs from the use of ordinary criminal sanctions in that, like other forms of behavior modification, aversive therapy seeks to evade rather than to develop the will. The person whose behavior has been successfully modified by aversive therapy does not restrain himself from committing punishable actions that still entice him through rational or irrational fear of punishment; but because the pleasure they give him has been spoiled by being repeatedly and consistently mixed with nausea, anxiety, humiliation, pain, or any combination of these, and by his own at least tacit consent. The alcoholic accepts an injection of apomorphine in a gruesome mock-

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up of a bar, drinks, and throws up; or allows his body to be injected with chemicals which insure that drink will make him deathly ill. Men who have raped children or fear that they might, and even homosexuals, permit psychologists to wire them up and give them electric shocks as they are shown pictures that arouse them sexually. The effect of such programs with adults is likely to be transitory; since they are taking part in them precisely because they are already well-aware that alcohol or heroin, whatever damage they may ultimately cause, do not make them feel acutely ill; nor do they experience pain when they touch a child or a person of the same sex, as the case may be. What is likely to endure is a sense of permanent humiliation at having allowed one's body, and its precious capacity for diverse satisfaction, to be violated in the interests of confirming a social norm; instead of having used one's essential strength both to assert and to contain one's actual proclivities. Nothing saps the will, including the will to socially-defined misconduct, like self-betrayal.

There is one experience that is familiar enough to many adults—especially males, since girls are less frequently subjected to it in most families—to give them some idea of the psychological processes involved in aversive therapy, if childhood amnesia has not screened away the memory of the feelings involved. Spanking is a true, though prescientific, means of aversive therapy. This seems obvious where the victim's offense was masturbation or some other form of sex-play, since the effect is to abruptly replace pleasurable erotic sensations with others even more intense that are accompanied by enough humiliation and loss of autonomy to ruin the culprit's satisfaction. Whatever he gets spanked for, the child has to deal with the humiliation of being "turned on" by his assailant in a degradation ceremony in which pain, though nearly lost in the welter of sensations being aroused in him, is the only one that is socially validated; the others are extinguished. To show any awareness of lustful pleasure would be to compound his offense with impertinence and risk being really hurt; as well as exquisitely inappropriate to an occasion formally defined as dolorous. Spanking works by invoking sexuality only to invalidate and mock it; the message is that the victim has gotten too big for his britches, which are removed to facilitate the operation. It also hurts, but not much; only enough to underline insult with token injury. But the wellsprings of his pleasure are defiled, and with his consent. Children must submit to spanking, if only under threat of more severe and protracted punishment; and are expected to feel that it has done them good.

Aversive therapy can only be used in conjunction with pleasure to be spoiled. The merely coercive use of pain or the threat of pain may or may not alter behavior, but it isn't aversive therapy. In this respect spanking is closely analogous to the use of nausea to spoil the pleasure of problem drinkers and hence eliminate their misbehavior; because paddling—indeed, like drinking—is also an old-fashioned *rite de passage* in our culture, and one which the victim is expected to recognize and accept as sportive, if not entirely playful, and certainly as more friendly than punitive, even though it is much more severe than spanking. It has been the commonest means of initiation into groups of young males and even of marking the passage of birthdays. Its function, in fact, is just the opposite of disciplinary spanking, as social drinking is the precise contrary of aversive therapy for alcoholics.

Though, like alcohol, it takes a while to learn to enjoy it, paddling helps make the initiation a Dionysian revel. It validated the initiate's sexual maturity. The active, slightly elder brothers, vigorously asserting their *droight de seigneur,* provided him with an unmistakable sense of his own potency and a powerful prophylaxis against the cold showers his parents and teachers were still recommending to reduce his new sexual urgency. In this way, the erogenous zones were declared officially open for business or pleasure, though some confusion might later arise about object-choice; sexuality's inconvenient links with violence, domination, and submission were unduly and unfortunately emphasized, along with the initiate's tendencies to become, like his brothers, a male chauvinist pig. They, of course, called this making a man of him.

Most of this is now happily behind us, as social taboos have shifted from the area of sex, the family has lost its authority and even some of its authoritarianism, colleges have begun declaring for open enrollment, and fraternities have given up the ghost even where they have retained the charter. Spanking, though children are still subject to it, has now become one of many techniques sex manuals recommend as possible ways for men and women get to know one another better. I have used this example despite its welcome obsolescence because it seems to me likely to be accessible to more readers—themselves I presume, largely reared and educated in an earlier era—and effective in making it clear why I think aversive therapy is fundamentally mean-spirited and hostile to life, however imposingly scientific it may appear and however unpleasant the behavior it seeks to modify may be.

Meanwhile, our conflicts have moved into other areas. Are there now schools in which teachers are positively reinforcing friendly contacts between white children and black, while programmatically ignoring or mildly discouraging the development of intra-ethnic friendships? I have not seen such a program described; but I wish I thought it more unlikely. Has anybody applied for a LEAA grant for a program in which policemen would shoot at effigies of black adolescents in apparent flight with a handgun designed to give them a nasty shock each time they pulled the trigger? I hope not. The brotherhood of man may be—probably is—a hopelessly unattainable vision; but it should be made of sterner stuff than a conditioned response.

Behavior modification provides some highly effective techniques for reducing the occurrence of undesirable behavior; and there is certainly plenty of it to be reduced. But it offers itself as an inauthentic substitute for love and will, and hence is essentially frivolous about existence. It may be, in some instances, a useful tool; but it leaves its practitioners in the moral predicament of having used a tool on people they should have responded to as total beings. That just isn't, in 1974, what we need more of.

Edgar Z. Friedenberg is author of Coming of Age in America *(Random House). He currently lives in Canada and teaches at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia.*

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ANNE SEXTON:

Light Up the Cave

by Denise Levertov

Anne Sexton's death some weeks ago saddened a great many people. In addition, it startled those who had assumed that, despite all the troubles of which her poetry told, she had come to the long stretch of middle age with some reserves of strength; though—I am told—the friends who knew her best were confirmed in their fear that her determination towards suicide had not really been deflected. My own sadness at the death of a fellow poet is compounded by the sense of how likely it is that Anne Sexton's tragedy will not be without influence in the tragedies of other lives.

She herself was, obviously, too intensely troubled to be fully aware of her influence or to take on its responsibility. Therefore it seems to me that we who are alive must make clear, as she could not, the distinction between creativity and self-destruction. The tendency to confuse the two has claimed too many victims. Anne Sexton herself seems to have suffered deeply from this confusion, and I surmise that her friendship with Sylvia Plath had in it an element of identification which added powerfully to her malaise. Across the country, at different colleges, I have heard many stories of attempted—and sometimes successful—suicides by young students who loved the poetry of Plath and who supposed that somehow, in order to become poets themselves, they had to act out in their own lives the events of hers. I don't want to see a new epidemic of the same syndrome occurring as a response to Anne Sexton's death.

The problem is not, however, related only to suicide *per se.* When Robert Lowell was at the height of his fame among student readers (his audience nowadays is largely an older one) many of them seemed to think a nervous breakdown was, if not imperative, at least an invaluable shortcut to artistry. When W. D. Snodgrass's *Heart's Needle* won the Pulitzer Prize, young couples married and divorced, it seemed, especially in order to have the correct material to write about.

I am not being flippant. Innumerable young poets have drunk themselves into stupidity and cirrhosis because they admired John Berryman or Dylan Thomas and came to think they must drink like them to write like them. At the very least it is assumed that creativity and hangups are inevitably inseparable. One student (male) said to me recently, "I was amazed when the first poet I met seemed to be a cheerful person and not any more fucked up than anyone else. When I was in high school I got the idea you *had* to be fucked up to be a real artist!" And a young English teacher in a community college told me she had given up writing poetry because she believed there were unavoidable links between depression and anxiety and the making of art. "Don't you feel terrible when you write poems?"

What exactly is the nature of the confusion, and how has it come about? The mistake itself lies in taking what may possibly be an occupational hazard as a prescriptive stimulus to artistic activity. Whether artists as a class are in fact more vulnerable than other people, or whether their problems merely have more visibility, a serious and intelligent statistical study might perhaps tell us. It makes no difference: the point is that while the creative impulse and the self-destructive impulse can, and often do, coexist, their relationship is distinctly acausal; self-destructiveness is a handicap to the life of art, not the reverse.

Yet it is the handicaps themselves that so often allure the young and un-

Photograph by Arthur Furst

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tried. The long lives of so many of the greatest artists, sometimes apparently uneventful, sometimes full of passion and suffering, but full too of endurance, and always dominated by love of their work, seem not to attract as models. Picasso, Matisse, Monet, Cezanne, Pissarro, Corot, Rembrandt, Titian, J. S. Bach, Stravinsky, Goethe, William Carlos Williams, Stevens, Pound, Neruda, Machado, Yeats, Shakespeare, Whitman, Tolstoi, Melville ... There is romance in their tenacity, their devotion, but it is overlooked. Why is this? There are topical reasons, but their roots are in the past, their nature historical and political:

In summary, western culture began, during the Renaissance—only recently, that is to say, in the calendar of human history—to emphasize individuality to a degree merely foreshadowed in Greece and Rome or in the theological dramas of the Old Testament. Geographical and scientific discoveries spurred the sense of what humanity on its own could do. The "Elizabethan world picture" had wholeness and consistency; but it held the seeds of an expanded view of things. And as feudal social systems underwent economic changes with the rise of the merchant class and the growth of banking procedures, so, too, the social and economic circumstances in which art was produced underwent changes that heightened the new sense of individuality.

The relationship of the artist to other people rapidly altered. The people began to become "the public," "the audience," and the poet, set aside from that "public," began to become more private, more introspective. When his work (or hers—but it was a long time before there were women poets in any numbers) was printed it was increasingly a revelation to the public of the highly personal, rather than being to a large degree the voice of the people itself which it had been the bard's task, in earlier times, to sound forth. The value put on individual expression, the concept of "originality," and ultimately even upon individualism as a creed, had been pushed further by the time we reach the period of Romanticism, which developed alongside the Industrial Revolution and was in part reactive to the prospect of facelessness presented to the prophetic eye by that phenomenon.

Twentieth century alienation is another phase of the reaction. What began as a realization of human potential, a growth of *individuated* consciousness (to use Jung's useful term) out of the unconscious collective, became first a glorification of willful, essentially optimistic individualism, echoing the ambitious, optimistic individualism of its capitalist context, and then, as that turned sour and revealed more and more of greed in its operations, led to the setting of a high esthetic and moral value upon alienation itself.

But alienation is of ethical value, is life-affirmative and conducive to creativity, only when it is accompanied by a political consciousness that imagines and affirms (and works toward) an alternative to the society from which it turns away in disgust. Lacking this, the alienated person, if he or she is gifted, becomes especially a prey to the exploitation that characterizes capitalism and is its underlying principle. The manifestations—in words, music, paint, or what have you—of private anguish are exploited by a greedy public, a public greedy for emotion at second hand because starved of the experience of community. Concurrently, for the same reasons, a creative person—whether a pop star or a Sylvia Plath, a John Berryman, an Anne Sexton—internalizes the exploitive, unwittingly becoming *self*-exploitive.

And if the public is greedy, the critics, at their worst, are positively ghoulish, or at the least, irresponsible. I feel, for instance, that it is irresponsible for one local columnist, in a memorial eulogy, to have written of Anne Sexton, "The manner of her death is at once frightening and fascinating to those who responded to her poetry, sharing as they do many of the same fears and insecurities she articulated so well. Her death awakens those fears and insecurities, the way some of her poems did, it raises them up from where they hide, buried by ordinary, everyday things." It is irresponsible because it is a statement made without qualification or development in a context of praise, and without, therefore, helping readers to see (as I suppose the writer herself does not see) that to raise our fears and insecurities into consciousness in order to confront them, to deal with them, is good; but that if the pain is confused with art itself, then people at the receiving end of a poem describing a pain and insecurity they share are not really brought to confront and deal with their problems, but are instead led into a false acceptance of them as signs or precursors of art, marks of kinship with the admired artist, symptoms of what used to be called "the artistic temperament."

Again, when I read the blurbs on the back of the late John Berryman's prizewinning *Delusions, etc.*, and see what A. Alvarez wrote of Berryman's work and death, I feel that a poisonous misapprehension of the nature of poetry is being furthered. "For years," Alvarez says, "I have been extolling the virtues of what I call extremist poetry, in which the artists deliberately push their perceptions to the very edge of the tolerable. Both Berryman and Plath were masters of the style. But knowing now how they both died I no longer believe that any art—even that as fine as they produced at their best—is worth the terrible cost."

At first glance this statement might be taken as being in accord with my own viewpoint; but its effect (since it is obvious that Alvarez believes their art to have been of the highest possible quality, perhaps the best poetry of their time) is still to extol the pursuit of the almost intolerable, the deliberate driving of the self to extremes which are not the unavoidable, universal extremes imposed by the human condition, but—insofar as they are deliberately sought—are luxuries, or which, if part and parcel of individual mental illness, should rather be *resisted* than encouraged in the name of art. In assuming that the disasters of those writers' lives were a form of payment for the virtues of their art, Alvarez, even while he says he has come to feel it is not worth the cost, perpetuates the myth that confounds a love-affair with death with a love-affair with art.

Thus it is that long lives devoted to the practice of art seem lacking in allure, and young would-be artists, encouraged by people older than themselves but equally confused, equally apt to mistake handicap for power, model their lives on the lives of those

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who, however gifted, were vanquished by their sorrows. It is not understood that the greatest heroes and heroines are truly those who hold out the longest, or, if they do die young, do so unwillingly, resisting to the last.

An instance would be the young guerilla poets of Latin America, so many of whom have been killed so young. (At least one of them, Javier Heraud, of Peru, would surely have been a major poet. He was shot down at the age of 23.) They were not flirting with death, any more than Victor Jara, the extraordinary and beloved Chilean musician and poet who was murdered in the Stadium in Santiago just over a year ago. They died politically conscious deaths, struggling for a better life, not just for themselves but for their people, for The People. Their tragedy is very different from the tragedy of suicide; they were conscious actors in dramas of revolutionary effort, not helpless victims.

Anne Sexton's struggle has its political dimensions too—but hers is the story of a victim, not a conscious participant. Anne Sexton the well-to-do suburban housewife, Anne Sexton in Bedlam, Anne Sexton "halfway back," Anne Sexton the glamorous performer, Anne Sexton timid and insecure, Anne Sexton saying she had always hoped to publish a posthumous volume, Anne Sexton in her garage breathing in the deadly fumes, was—whatever the clinical description of her depression—"caught in history's crossfire." Not because she was a woman—the problem is not essentially related to gender or to sexual stance. Not because she didn't have radical politics—god knows they are not a recipe for great art or for long life (though I can't help feeling that a little more comprehension of the relation of politics to her own life might have helped her). But because she herself was unable to separate her depression and her obsession with death from poetry itself, and because precisely her most enthusiastic readers and critics encouraged that inability.

The artist, the poet (like Hokusai, who called himself "the old man mad about painting" and felt that at 70 he had begun to learn, at 90 would have some command of his powers, and at 100 would begin to do justice to what he saw in Nature) needs the stamina of an astronaut and the energy derived only from being passionately in love with life and with art. "This is this world, the kingdom I was looking for!" wrote John Holmes. And "You must love the crust of the earth on which you dwell. You must be able to extract nutriment out of sand heap. Else you will have lived in vain," wrote Thoreau.

Such purity, integrity, love, and energy—rarely fully attained but surely to be striven for—are undermined by our exploitive society, which romanticizes its victims when they are of a certain kind (thus distracting us from the unromanticizable lives of the suffering multitude). It romanticizes gifted individuals who have been distorted into an alienated individualism, a self-preoccupation, that is *not* individuation, *not* maturation.

Anne Sexton wrote in *Wanting to Die,*

Suicides have already betrayed the body.
Stillborn, they don't always die,
but dazzled, they can't forget a drug so sweet . . .
To thrust all that life under your tongue!—
that, all by itself, becomes a passion.

Too many readers, with a perversity that, yes, really does seem to me to be bound up with white middle-class privilege and all its moral disadvantages, would sooner remember, and identify with, lines like those than with these, which (in *The Death Notebooks*) she also wrote:

Depression is boring, I think
and I would do better to make
some soup and light up the cave.

To recognize that for a few years of her life Anne Sexton was an artist *even though* she had so hard a struggle against her desire of death is to fittingly honor her memory. To identify her love of death with her love of poetry is to insult that struggle.

Denise Levertov's most recent book is The Poet on the World *(New Directions, 1974).*

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TRUTH

(From page 27)

est Communications—a staff of six struggles to provide time and expertise to literally dozens of groups and causes. Currently, PMC is doing work in support of the United Farm Workers' national boycott of Gallo Wines, as well as for the American Veterans Movement, Friends of the Earth, Amnesty International, Network Against Psychiatric Assault, Group Legal Institute of California, Environmental Action, San Francisco Consumer Action, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Public Advocates, Movement for Social Justice, and the Women's Coalition for Health Rights.

PMC has also been heavily involved in presenting an alternative to the saturation propaganda campaign of the energy industry. In California, where there is strong sentiment for a moratorium on nuclear power plants, the major electric utilities have carried on extensive media campaigns to promote them. In response, PMC has prepared radio and TV spots raising serious questions about the efficacy and safety of nuclear reactors. And to counter the oil companies' "editorial advertisements" which purport to explain the energy crisis ("Exxon wants you to know," etc.) PMC has prepared a series of television spots based on the theme "Energy Should be Everybody's Business."

Unfortunately, the public advertising groups have a long way to go before their effectiveness can match the high volume assault of the commercial advertisers, or their representatives on the "public service" Advertising Council. For Exxon, or Gallo, or General Motors, $100,000 spent on promotion is small change; PMC tries to get by on a yearly budget of $96,000. Like most of the public interest advertising groups, PMC subsists on contributions, grants, and money raised for specific projects or organizations; the staff is small, the working hours long, and the pay is low. And as the falling stock market cuts down the assets of potential contributors, the problems of financing became even more precarious. Sympathetic magazines or newspapers will often contribute space, but the mass circulation press reaching most Americans rarely offers public service messages more controversial than Smokey the Bear. And even if public interest groups can raise the money to pay for advertising pages, no publication can be required to accept "controversial" ads – the Supreme Court decided that question unanimously in June 1974.

The problems of media access for radio and television are also difficult. In theory, the FCC's "Fairness Doctrine" required broadcasters to present all sides of controversial issues of public importance. Public interest law firms have tried to use the Fairness Doctrine as a wedge to broaden access to the media.

One such law firm, Media Access Project based in Washington, D.C., came close to winning a major victory in this area. In 1969 and 1970, a group of prominent businessmen, Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace (BEM) had attempted to buy several one-minute spots of advertising time from a Washington, D.C. radio station to express opposition to the Nixon administration's Vietnam policies. They were turned down solely on the grounds they were addressing a "controversial" issue. Finally, MAP filed suit on behalf of BEM. Tom Asher, MAP's executive director, noted that the President "was regularly commandeering radio and television time to explain and promote his Vietnam strategy; he had virtually unlimited access, free of charge."

The U.S. Court of Appeals eventually decided in favor of BEM, striking down broadcaster policies against selling air time to controversial causes. But in 1973, that decision was overturned by the Supreme Court, which insisted that the citizen's right to information was adequately insured by the Fairness Doctrine. Chief Justice Warren Burger contended that "the public interest . . . would scarcely be served by a system so heavily weighted in favor of the financially affluent, or those with access to wealth." Incredibly, he was referring to the anti-war group deprived of advertising time.

Clearly, without Federal legislation the struggle for media access has to be fought one case at a time. This has become especially significant at a time when major corporations are using unprecedented amounts of their advertising budgets for straight political propaganda—"image advertising" as it is known in the trade. In 1973, for example, the oil companies spent $40.8 million, 56 percent of their budget, on image promotion—self-serving messages about their concern for the consumer, the need for individual self-sacrifice, and other homilies on political economy.

One case at a time: In 1971, Friends of the Earth in New York brought a successful suit under the Fairness Doctrine, arguing that commercials for high-powered cars took one side in the controversy over air pollution. The local NBC affiliate agreed to run ads produced by the New York Environmental Protection Agency—some of them in prime time. In March 1974, Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal (D—N.Y.), representing 15 of his colleagues, appealed by letter and news conference to the nation's 7,000 radio and TV stations to give consumer and environmental groups a chance to respond to the oil industry's propaganda blitz. So far, about 10 percent have responded favorably—running some or all of PMC's 30- and 60-second energy spots. Also, in 1974, Environmental Action asked the *Washington Post* for space to reply to editorial ads run by the oil industry; the *Post* is giving it serious consideration. Media Access Project, contending that Georgia Power Company's television ads presented one side on several controversial issues—including the need for higher utility rates and expanded generating capacity—won free broadcast time for three Georgia consumer groups. In California, the United Farm Workers are planning a Fairness Doctrine complaint, insisting that any TV or radio station carrying ads for Gallo Wine must also run ads on the Gallo Boycott.

At a more grass roots level, other groups are looking for ways that ordinary citizens as well as citizens' groups can have access to radio and TV. In San Francisco, negotiations between Phil Jacklin of the Committee for Open Media and KGO-TV, the ABC affiliate, in the summer of 1971, led to the institution of "Free Speech Messages" (FSMs). Three spots were to be made each week—by individuals or representatives of groups—and aired

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five times each, once in prime time. Now, all of the San Francisco Bay Area VHF stations, one UHF station, and seven radio stations carry FSMs on a wide range of subjects and perspectives—with a potential audience of two million.

FSMs are now broadcast in a number of U.S. cities. A group in Washington, D.C., the National Citizen's Committee on Broadcasting, has put together a useful primer called *Demystifying Broadcasting* for people interested in exploring potential access to their local media. In San Francisco, Jacklin's group is trying to expand the scope of citizen participation by persuading the area's radio and TV stations to cooperate in city-wide Media Access Centers for the production of FSMs.

Perhaps the most ambitious experiment in public interest advertising yet undertaken was carried out in New Mexico in early 1974. The New Mexico Civil Liberties Union and the Insitute for Regional Education joined forces to use all the tools of modern mass advertising to focus public attention on a serious, comprehensively treated issue—the threat to privacy in contemporary society. Armed with $75,000 raised for the project, the groups used 270 television spots in prime time on three network outlets, 300 radio spots on three stations, 10 newspaper ads covering 23 days in two papers, 30 billboards, six flights over Albuquerque by a hot air balloon, and 105,000 copies of a 40-page booklet inserted into the state's largest newspaper.

The campaign was staggered to achieve maximum educational results. The first stage was a series of spot advertisements on radio and TV, and small ads in the newspapers. The newspaper ads consisted of pictures of a human eye on a computer card. The TV ads were dazzling. One showed a close-up of an eye which sounded like a camera shutter when it blinked. Another showed a group of children playing; the camera focused on a 10-year-old girl who was suddenly frozen in a mug shot, with her social security number superimposed. This mug shot subsequently appeared on billboards throughout the state. Yet another animated TV spot focused on the pyramid with a human eye which appears on the back of a one-dollar bill. Then the eye became a rocket which circled the Earth and, beaming in on New Mexico towns, took close-up pictures of people in their homes.

The ads were highly dramatic; some felt they were even manipulative. Combined with the billboards, there was no way anyone in the area could get away from the big eye: the privacy issue, data banks, mind control—a total assault.

This was followed by publication of the 40-page Sunday newspaper supplement entitled "Ten More Years—1974 Report on Invasion of Privacy and the Technology of Control." The supplement explained in detail the purpose of the ad campaign and presented information on data banks, various types of government record keeping, and the dangers raised against privacy and civil liberties. By the time the campaign had run its course, public opinion polls showed that the number of people who felt their privacy was in danger in modern American society had increased from 14.6 percent to 44.7 percent.

It can be argued that sophisticated manipulation of mass opinion is dangerous and immoral however good the ends. That is a question taken very seriously by people in the public advertising groups; they consciously struggle with the temptation of being simplistic, tricky, and manipulative. In New Mexico, for example, the objective was not to focus attention on an unneeded product or a political candidate's mindless slogans, but on a 40-page informative appeal to an intelligent citizenry. In a society where people are barraged day and night with conflicting messages of unreason, the voice of reason may also have to shout—at least at first—in order to be heard. In any event, public interest groups are hardly likely to get the means to shout as loudly as Exxon, General Motors, or the President of the United States. In the words of Dugald Stermer, one of the founders of Public Interest Communications, "No matter how you slice it, it's the BB gun against the tank. You've got to be a hell of a marksman."

Henry Weinstein is a member of the California Bar. He writes regularly for the New York Times *from California.*

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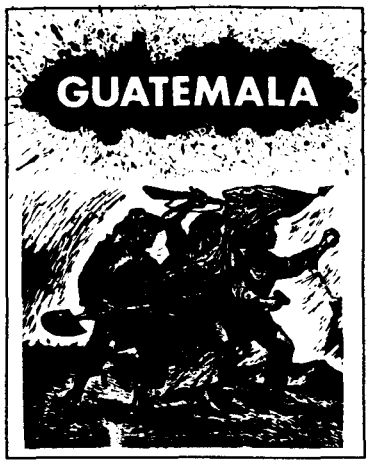

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SAIGON'S CORRUPTION

(From page 24)

to implement the latter. Publicly, the U.S. pledged to support the Geneva Agreements. What took place in secret, however, was quite another matter. The National Security Council met at once and adopted a program for subversion throughout the region. Thailand was to be "the focal point of U.S. covert and psychological operations in Southeast Asia." In Indochina, covert operations were to be undertaken "on a large and effective scale" to prevent the Viet Minh from governing North Vietnam, "to prevent a Communist victory through all-Vietnam elections" promised at Geneva, and to maintain U.S.-dominated ("friendly") regimes throughout Indochina. The program called for remilitarization of Japan, and the possibility of harrassing actions against China was raised for later consideration.

In a remarkable paragraph, the NSC program states that in the event of "local Communist subversion or rebellion not constituting armed attack," the U.S. should undertake covert and overt actions in support of the threatened government and should consider requesting Congressional authorization (as fraudulently obtained after the Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964) for direct U.S. military intervention either locally or against the "external source" of the local rebellion, as designated by the U.S., "including Communist China if determined to be the source." The wording of this paragraph, repeated verbatim in secret policy statements for the next five years, was carefully chosen to make explicit the principle that the U.S. is not bound by its obligations under the UN Charter or under the SEATO Treaty of 1954 that constituted part of the public response. Both of these international agreements, which of course are legally binding on the U.S. executive, preclude the use of force except in defense against armed attack, and allow for nothing beyond consultation in the

Vietnam: A Chronology

Aug. 1945 – Japanese surrender. Vietminh seize power in Hanoi.
Sept. 1945 – Ho Chi Minh issues Declaration of Independence of Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
Dec. 1946 – Vietminh reject French ultimatum, beginning of eight-year war for independence.
Mar. 1949 – France establishes Bao Dai as Head of State of Vietnam.
June 1950 – U.S. begins massive economic and military aid to Bao Dai government and French forces, eventually paying 80 percent of cost of French war.
July 1954 – Geneva Conference ends French Indochina War, declaring the 17th parallel a "provisional military demarcation line." U.S. refuses to sign declaration, but vows not to interfere with settlement.
Sept. 1954 – Ngo Dinh Diem with U.S. support takes power in South Vietnam.
June 1955 – Hanoi seeks scheduled consultations on general elections. Diem refuses to participate, reportedly with U.S. support.
1956 – Diem replaces elected village councils with Saigon appointees, authorizes imprisonment of anyone dangerous to "defense and the state and public order." U.S. begins equipping, training, and financing South Vietnamese military.
May 1959 – Saigon establishes system of military courts with jurisdiction over espionage, treason, speculation, and economic sabotage.
Apr. 1960 – Leading anticommunist South Vietnamese condemn undemocratic politics of Diem government – all are arrested.
Dec. 1960 – Formation of National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.
1961 – U.S. "advisor" forces increase to 18,000.
May-Aug. 1963 – Buddhist uprising against Diem regime suppressed by force.
Nov. 1, 1963 – Diem overthrown and assassinated by military junta led by General Duong Van Minh, with U.S. support.
Nov. 8, 1963 – NLF proposes cease fire, general elections.
Jan. 30, 1964 – Gen. Nguyen Kahn overthrows Minh junta, rejects negotiations.
Spring-Summer 1964 – U.S. secret bombing of North Vietnam coastal installations.
Aug 4, 1964 – Reacting to alleged North Vietnamese attacks on U.S. destroyers off North Vietnam Coast, Congress passes Gulf of Tonkin resolution authorizing the President "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the U.S. and to prevent further aggression." Johnson Administration proceeds with plans for sustained, "orchestrated" bombing of North Vietnam.
Feb. 1965 – U.S. begins widespread bombing of NLF areas in South Vietnam.
Mar. 1965 – U.S. begins sustained bombing of North Vietnam, U.S. marines land in South Vietnam, beginning buildup of ground forces. (U.S. Defense Dept. estimates 400 North Vietnam troops in South at this time.)
May-June 1965 – Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky take power in Saigon.
Dec. 1965 – First U.S. bombing of Hanoi-Haiphong area.
Dec. 1966 – U.S. troops level in South Vietnam reaches 385,000.
Sept. 1967 – Presidential elections held in South Vietnam; anyone known to favor negotiations with NLF is barred from running; Thieu-Ky ticket wins 35 percent plurality; second-placing candidate is imprisoned.
Dec. 1967 – Establishment of free-fire zones eventually floods cities with four million refugees. American troop level reaches 535,000.
Jan.-Feb. 1968 – Massive Tet offensive by NLF and North Vietnamese troops throughout South Vietnam; establishment of Provisional Revolutionary Government.
Mar. 1968 – My Lai massacre.
Mar. 31, 1968 – LBJ announces halt of bombing north of 20th parallel "to move immediately toward peace with negotiations."
May 13, 1968 – Preliminary two-party talks begin in Paris.
Oct. 31, 1968 – LBJ announces bombing halt on eve of U.S. elections.
Jan. 1969 – Official four-party peace talks begin in Paris.
May 1969 – Nixon announces first troop withdrawal of his "Vietnamization" plan.
Mar. 1970 – Coup in Cambodia deposes neutralist Prince Norodom Sihanouk.
May-June 1970 – U.S.-South Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. U.S. Senate votes to repeal Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.
Summer 1970 – Massive anti-U.S. anti-war demonstrations in Saigon.
Feb.-Mar. 1971 – South Vietnamese troops invade Laos and retreat in disarray.
June 1971 – Publication of the Pentagon Papers.
Jan. 1972 – Nixon discloses "secret talks" between Kissinger and North Vietnamese negotiators.
Apr. 1971 – PRG-North Vietnamese offensive, largest in four years makes substantial gains of territory under PRG control.
Oct. 26, 1972 – Hanoi announces text of nine-point plan for peace negotiated with Kissinger. Kissinger says "peace is at hand," but refuses to sign agreement pending clarification of details.
Dec. 1972 – B-52 "carpet bombings" of Hanoi to force a more favorable settlement halted after heavy bomber losses.
Jan. 1973 – Paris Peace Agreement signed, substantially identical to that announced in October.

Adapted for Ramparts from "Vietnam Fact Sheet," prepared by Cornell CCAS and Ahmee Hewitt, for the Indochina Resource Center, 201 Massachusetts Ave. NE #316, Washington, DC 20002.

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event of "local Communist subversion or rebellion not constituting armed attack."

These secret programs were put into effect most significantly in supporting Diem in his refusal to abide by the accords and in his expanding violence. Thus, the Geneva Accords were dead from their inception, having been abrogated by a secret U.S. decision, and the second cycle of the U.S. war against Vietnam was underway.

The U.S. response to the Paris Agreements of 1973 was strikingly reminiscent of the earlier pattern. The Paris Agreements, like the Geneva Accords, laid the basis for a political settlement without foreign intervention. But as was the case after Geneva, the U.S. response to the Paris Agreements had three facets: a public stance, an actual program, and actions to implement this program. Publicly, the U.S. pledged to respect the Paris Agreements. At the same time, it was made plain that the U.S. had not the slightest intention of observing any of their central provisions. As distinct from 1954, this facet of the U.S. response was now quite public, announced in an official White House statement and a Kissinger press conference. One thing had indeed changed since 1954. The administration understood very well that it could rely on the subservience of the press, and that there would be no headline announcing the explicit intention of tearing the agreements to shreds. On the contrary, the press proceded to present the Nixon-Kissinger version of the agreements as if it were the Paris text.

The Paris Agreements establish two parallel and equivalent parties in the South, the Saigon regime and the PRG. They call for a political settlement between these two parties without interference by the U.S., under conditions of full democratic rights. Neutralists were to be represented in a tripartite council. Reunification with the North is then to proceed, again by peaceful means with no U.S. interference. The U.S. is to impose no personality or political tendency on South Vietnam and must withdraw its advisers and technicians within 60 days, according to the text of the agreements. The Nixon-Kissinger-press version differs on all of these points. The Saigon regime was recognized as the sole legitimate government in South Vietnam, its leadership and constitutional structure intact and unchanged. This constitutional structure outlaws the second of the two parties that were to join in peaceful reconciliation. The Saigon leadership announced at once that it would observe none of the provisions guaranteeing democratic liberties, and issued "shoot-to-kill" orders in case anyone didn't get the point. Neutralists have been jailed and suppressed, and the tripartite council blocked, by the Saigon regime, whose "authority" rests on a budget 90 percent of which is provided by the U.S. Kissinger announced that U.S. civilian technicians serving in military branches would remain. Later, he made clear that the U.S. remained committed to long-term military and economic support for a stable South Vietnam (i.e., an American client regime). No reunification. Thus the U.S. continues, and promises to continue indefinitely into the future, to try to impose its chosen personalities and political tendencies on South Vietnam by force, blocking every major provision of the agreements signed in Paris.

As in 1954, it is the third facet of the U.S. response – the direct actions in support of the actual program – that are the most important. The Thieu regime at once moved to implement its decision to use force to prevent the return of refugees to their homes and, in fact, to block all of the rights guaranteed under the agreements. Troops were ordered to conquer areas that were "historically" under GVN control. Thieu's continuing war against the South Vietnamese people, with the tactics learned from his mentors and sustainers, is described in a recent report from American Friends Service Committee field workers:

"Three battalions of ARVN troops have moved into southern Mo Duc and northern Duc Po. They are systematically 'clearing' a huge area between Highway One and the sea that the PRG has held since 1962. All structures are burned, all inhabitants are moved to new areas and many imprisoned. The ARVN troops are forcing civilians to clear brush in advance of the soldiers, so that many mine injuries are coming into the hospital here. We drove down to Duc Po the other day. Just below Mo Duc both sides of the road were billowing with smoke as homes, barns, and sheds were being destroyed. Here we are back to the tactics of the late Fifties and early Sixties; the systematic destruction of 'secure' hamlets."

The House Foreign Affairs Committee reported that "the GVN has fared well during the post-ceasefire maneuvering; since January 1973 it has added 770 hamlets to the list of those over which it has dominant control . . ." These achievements were not unrelated to the fact, proudly announced by the U.S. and Saigon military, that the "Countryside ratio of the number of rounds fired by South Vietnamese forces [since the Paris Agreements] to that fired by Communist forces was about 16 to 1," thanks to the American taxpayer. Thieu has explained that democratic freedoms must be denied, because they will be exploited by the Communists to propagate their ideology. Thus, the Communists are planning to "subvert Vietnam through the freedom of the press," which must therefore be abrogated. He has ordered his troops to attack the Viet Cong in their own territory. The commander in the Mekong Delta announced in January 1974 that he planned to "liberate" the 100 or so delta hamlets under Communist control by the end of the year, and the government announced in the same month that its planes were "systematically bombing" PRG areas.

All of this, of course, is to be understood as the American response to the Paris Agreements. The agreements themselves were delayed from October to January in part because Kissinger hoped to obtain further concessions through force, but also so that the U.S. could bring in $3¼billion in arms in preparation for the new cycle of aggression. A vast arms flow has continued since in an effort to continue by proxy the U.S. system of pacification by the massive and indiscriminate use of firepower. But the U.S. position is far weaker than it was in the late Fifties, and the Vietnamese revolutionary movement will not now sit by quietly watching the program of U.S. terror, waiting for permission to undertake armed self-defense. Thus as Daniel Southerland reported in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 4, 1974:

"The South Vietnamese Army has

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paid a price for its land grabbing in the northern part of South Vietnam. Retaliation by the Communists in this area has led in recent weeks to the heaviest fighting since the cease-fire was declared more than a year and a half ago. The North Vietnamese have regained a good part of the territory they held in the northernmost region at the time of the cease-fire."

In 1954-60 the Viet Minh pressed unsuccessfully for implementation of the Geneva Accords. In 1963-64 the NLF and DRV, and various intermediaries and outsiders, sought some kind of political settlement, all to no avail. The U.S. was always committed to the principle expressed in internal government memoranda: only after the successful use of force could the U.S. tolerate negotiations to ratify its victory. The U.S. has fought desperately against a political settlement reflecting popular support because the Quisling faction has never had any. When agreements have been forced upon the U.S., as in 1954 and 1973, their provisions have been ignored with the cool brazenness of the powerful. As in the past, the Vietnamese have sought implementation of the international agreements, but without result. Thus, *"Throughout the year since the cease-fire the Communists had pursued a policy of comparative restraint as they tried by diplomatic means to put pressure on Saigon to accept the political provisions of the Paris agreement. Representations to the U.S. Government and meetings with Kissinger leading nowhere, they seem to have decided, some time this spring, to go over to a limited offensive, which they announced, on their radio and elsewhere, in a public way."* **Martin Woollacott, *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Aug. 31, 1974.**

[THE PRESENT STAGE]

The current situation is not unlike that of the early Sixties. Stage two of the cycle is well underway. Stage three, partial (and perhaps this time total) American defeat, may not be long delayed. As in 1963, the Saigon-controlled areas are in an uproar. Spontaneous demonstrations have rocked these regions and several organized protest movements have come into existence. In his call for mass participation in the Popular Front for Struggle Against Hunger, formed by representatives of all religious groups, its president, the Venerable Thich Hien Phap cries out that: "At the same time that American bombs destroy our rice fields and harvests, a corrupt minority has used and still continues to use funds destined for reconstruction of the country to import luxuries and jewels, despite the famine that is everywhere among the population." In late September, 30,000 workers in Danang demonstrated in protest against deteriorating economic conditions. Demonstrators throughout the country are calling for jobs, food, an end to corruption and war.

As the experience of 1963 also tells us, however, care must be taken in interpreting what is now happening in the areas under U.S.-Saigon control. The Saigon regime, an artificial American creation, cannot survive without American assistance, particularly under the war conditions that will persist so long as Saigon and the U.S. continue to reject the Paris Agreements. But Congress is balking. If the flow of aid is to resume, the Saigon regime must have a more liberal image. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon, the CIA, and policy planners in Washington may read the handwriting on the wall. It is thus possible that once again, in coordination with right-wing groups bent on blocking the agreements, the U.S. may try to overthrow the regime (as in 1963), replacing Thieu with a right-center coalition, pretending that now at last the Saigon regime is on the road to democracy and economic development.

In the face of spontaneous uprisings, the Catholic Church and various right-wing and centrist groups that have always been closely linked to the U.S. are compelled to respond, in part to maintain their credibility, but also to channel protests into less dangerous directions, and perhaps, to form a new coalition to replace the sinking Thieu regime with one that can obtain American assistance to continue the war. Several of the new protest movements call for an end to corruption, for freedom of the press, and for an end to the Thieu regime, but – crucially – not for implementation of the Paris Agreements. When the indomitable Mme. Ngo Ba Thanh spoke at a protest

"As the economy becomes more and more shaky, the public begins to explore new possibilities in politics. Increasingly they have come to see that the corporations and their top government allies are at the center of what ails the society, be it the destruction of forests, skyrocketing meat prices, or gas shortages." —Robert Scheer

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1. DATE OF FILING: October 30, 1974
2. TITLE OF PUBLICATION: RAMPARTS
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE: MONTHLY
4. LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 2749 Hyde St., San Francisco, Ca. 94109
5. LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS
Same
6. NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITORS AND MANAGING EDITOR

PUBLISHER
Noah's Ark Inc.
2749 Hyde St.
San Francisco, Ca. 94109

EDITORS
David Horowitz, Elliot Kanter, David Kolodney, Patricia Shell, Peter Stone
2749 Hyde St., San Francisco, Ca. 94109

MANAGING EDITOR
Patricia Shell
2749 Hyde St., San Francisco, Ca. 94109

7. OWNER
Noah's Ark, Inc.
2749 Hyde St.
San Francisco, Ca. 94109

STOCKHOLDERS
Noah's Ark Employees Trust
2749 Hyde St.
San Francisco, Ca. 94109

8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PER CENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES
None

9. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION

	Average No. Copies each issue during preceding 12 months	Actual No. of Copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED (Net Press Run)	110,333	105,000
B. PAID CIRCULATION		
1. SALES THROUGH DEALERS AND VENDORS AND CARRIERS, STREET COUNTER SALES	25,450	25,919
2. MAIL SUBSCRIPTIONS	33,195	30,573
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION	58,645	56,492
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS		
1. SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY AND OTHER FREE COPIES	395	345
2. COPIES DISTRIBUTED TO NEWS AGENTS BUT NOT SOLD	47,435	42,861
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION	106,475	99,698
F. OFFICE USE, LEFT-OVER, UNACCOUNTED, SPOILED AFTER PRINTING	3,858	5,302
G. TOTAL	110,333	105,000

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meeting, blaming starvation on the American-backed war, she was shouted down by right-wing elements who insisted that the problem is corruption. The right-wing press reports that activities of her group have been declared illegal and will be stopped. Protest groups which do not call for implementation of the Paris Agreements so far function with little police intervention.

The right-wing groups emphasize that they are trying to prepare the ground for a more "popular" war against Communism; that is, for a more effective struggle to completely set aside the Paris Agreements. The group most publicized in the West is the Catholic "Popular Movement for Struggle against Corruption, for National Salvation, and for the Construction of Peace." Its leader is Father Tran Huu Thanh, an associate of Diem who was an instructor of anti-Communism for Saigon military officers and director of an anti-Communist psychological warfare program. This group made headlines with its "Accusation No. 1," a six-count indictment of the Thieu regime for corruption. It now calls for Thieu's resignation, but it does not call for implementation of the Paris Agreements; rather, for a "clean government," so that the Communists "have to accept to come and live with us as a minority" (*NY Times*, Oct. 31, 1974) – the standard U.S. government position. *NY Times* correspondent James Markham describes Father Thanh as "the Opposition's hottest political property" (Oct. 19). But the left-wing Catholic leader, Father Chan Tin, who has courageously denounced Saigon repression for many years, says that "I have been told that perhaps there is a hand behind all of this" (J-C Pomonti, *Le Monde*, Oct. 11).

Father Chan Tin's suspicions appear warranted. Thus, "Accusation No. 1" was broadcast in mid-September by clandestine radio stations in Hue and Saigon. The PRG Liberation Radio announced that it knew nothing about this, and its denials are credible, given that the radio is operating from Saigon-controlled areas and that the government did not stop the broadcasts, though this should not have been very difficult. Who has the technical competence to operate a clandestine radio in Saigon and Hué, immune from government retaliation? Only one answer suggests itself. And indeed, Thieu has hinted broadly that the attacks on him are influenced by "colonialists."

Commenting on the latter charge, Father Thanh pointed out in the right-wing paper *Hoa Binh* that the "colonialists" Thieu is referring to can only be the Americans. He then denied that he was working for the CIA, arguing that after the Chile exposures, "the CIA would not dare interfere in our internal affairs." Not a very compelling argument. PRG and DRV sources also warn that the right-wing opposition movements are U.S.-inspired. An editorial in *Nhan Dan* (Hanoi) observes that "the fall of President Thieu will be desired and prepared by the Americans, who are already trying to manipulate the opposition movements by remote control."

In fact, there is reason to suspect that the U.S. Embassy may seek to form a right-center coalition, as in 1963. Reports from Saigon indicate that there have been recent visits by General Lansdale, Henry Cabot Lodge, Douglas Pike, and George Meany. It may be that the U.S. is attempting to persuade various groups in Saigon that they should participate in a coalition that may be forming to replace the Thieu regime, so that American support can again be enlisted for the war on the required scale.

Among those calling for Thieu's resignation are the Thanh Movement Against Corruption, the conservative Nhan Chu and VNQDD Parties, and Tran Quoc Buu, head of the Federation of Vietnamese Labor and the Cong Nong Party, which has always been closely allied to Thieu. Buu is a powerful figure, a possible leader of a post-Thieu right-wing coalition. His labor organization has long been regarded as a CIA front. It has received ample support from the AFL-CIO as part of their notorious international operations in support of "free unions," and from the Institut für Internationale Solidarität of the Christian Democratic Konrad Adenauer Foundation in West Germany. The federation has always had close links with the Can Lao Party, originally Diem's party. Buu has been charged with gross corruption, and his union,

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as observed in a report in *Der Spiegel* (April 16, 1973), "has more to do with the privileged than with the poor." (This highly critical report was based on information supplied by an IIS employee who worked in Vietnam from 1969-72.)

Buu has called on Thieu to resign, and also to abolish the laws forbidding strikes. He himself originally backed these laws, which were introduced to prevent the establishment of legitimate labor unions. If the laws are now abrogated, it will be possible for him to bring his paramilitary forces, which are alleged to be substantial, and the workers under his control into the streets in anti-Thieu demonstrations, if matters reach that stage. At the 25th anniversary meeting of the federation (Oct. 29, 1974), Buu denounced the "inefficient and corrupt leadership" of the country and urged an end to corruption and social injustices and a policy of peace. According to the *NY Times* report of this meeting (Oct. 30, 1974), he called for implementation of the Paris Peace Agreement, but this is not borne out by the text of his speech. More likely, he too will try to focus the protest movement on "corruption," so that perhaps a new right-center coalition can be established to continue, with U.S. aid, to block implementation of the agreements.

It is possible that the anti-Thieu protests of the right-center groups will reach the point where Thieu will be replaced by a coalition that will be described in the U.S. as democratic, labor-backed, and committed to an end to corruption and repression – but which will in fact be committed to continuation of the war and dismantling of the Paris Agreements. If that stage is reached, U.S. government propaganda agencies will call for support for this new "progressive" coalition, and we may again see the usual depressing picture of press and liberal intellectual complicity in the next stage of American intervention. It may not be long before there is a call for renewed American bombing in support of our doughty ally. What more fitting way to celebrate the bicentennial? What happens then will depend on the constellation of forces here.

If, on the other hand, Thieu remains in power and the current wave of protest recedes, then there is every reason to expect a new and even harsher repression aimed primarily at those who are calling for implementation of the Paris Agreements, the only program that might bring peace and reconstruction to South Vietnam. However, when the rot proceeds far enough the Saigon regime may well lose its capacity to repress, and could collapse so rapidly that the situation might be beyond U.S. control. The spreading phenomenon of an underpaid soldiery demanding tribute from ordinary citizens and all passing roadway traffic suggests the possibility of a Kuomintang-like breakdown of military discipline and control, and military actions by the PRG and DRV could under certain conditions precipitate a rapid disintegration of the puppet state.

Up to this point, at least, the U.S. government has not abandoned hope of establishing a stable client-regime in South Vietnam and thus undermining the agreements signed in Paris. Since the will is plainly lacking at home, it has increasingly sought the help of allies, most recently through the World Bank, which is asked to find Thieu "credit-worthy" (as compared to Allende, who was not). No matter what shenanigans may be carried out in South Vietnam, it seems unlikely that domestic enthusiasm for a war of destruction against the Vietnamese can be rekindled here. This is, however, one of those rare moments when popular political pressures might make a significant difference. It would be a great shame if after almost a decade of mass opposition to the war, often reaching remarkable levels of courage and conviction, it should now prove impossible to mobilize an effort that could finally bring to an end a quarter-century of U.S.-sponsored torment in Indochina.

Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman are co-authors of Counter-Revolutionary Violence: Bloodbaths in Fact and Propaganda *(Warner Modular). Noam Chomsky's most recent publication is* Peace in the Middle East? *(Vintage).*

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THE LAST CHRISTMAS

(From page 24)

exchange for the perpetually renewable foodstuffs and other renewable, recreatable resources of the U.S.

At the end of that path lay total exhaustion of the means of sustenance for foreign peoples. And, in the ultimate sense, what America had been paying for its fuels and raw materials imports was nothing. The foodstuffs it shipped abroad one year were regrown and were back in place in its granaries next year. The depletable resources of other nations, once shipped, vanished forever.

This was a still different and more sophisticated American affluence. Technical advances in U.S. agriculture provoked, by creating the opportunity, accelerated exploitation of foreign peoples and of the non-renewable materials content of their lands. And at the first sign of their revolt, the price of American shipments of foodstuffs was elevated not only for those who produced materials abroad but for the American people also.

Threat of foreign political action to put a stop to this policy-generated free inflow of wealth to this country—this artivicial, politically created crypto-affluence—was countered by a price assault on the means of subsistence not only abroad but in the United States.

Why? Because the enforced free net inflow had been not to America as a whole but to its corporate sector—from which the American people today are excluded as totally as, 200 years ago, the people of Europe were excluded from the soil and its natural resources by feudalism and aristocracy. Corporate America, by monopolizing of the means of production, extending to the land itself as agribusiness expands and independent farmers sink deeper into debt to the lending institutions, has recreated in the United States exactly the conditions which, in Europe, once drove the people to emigrate to this country.

This is, perhaps, the ultimate measure of the end of U.S. affluence. There has been recreated in the United States the self-same separation of the people from the land and its resources which was the quality of Europe when this country was founded. Things have come full circle. It is in America that the pressures outward are now felt. The inward attractive force has ceased to be.

[EXPORTING INFLATION]

It is not, however, the sole measure. For there are highly complicating factors arising from the gold stock fortuitously and without cost gained by this country before World War II, and by consequent U.S. policy following the victory over the Axis.

Towards the close of World War II, the Bretton Woods agreements were signed, bringing into being at war's end the International Monetary Fund. Let us assume good faith in the detailed agreements, and honesty in the expectation of those who founded the IMF, that postwar additions to the world's monetary reserves would come entirely from newly mined gold—and that new mine output would prove sufficient. It still remains a fact that the essence of Bretton Woods was that the world accepted gold and the U.S. dollar as functional identities. In America they were *not* interchangeable. (Private holding of monetary gold had been illegal in this country since 1934.) But among nations, gold and the dollar were indistinguishable. The one served as the other, was a claim upon the other, could be exchanged into the other—and back again—time after time after time.

There was no international legal requirement that the U.S. issue of paper money be limited. After all, dollars could be exchanged for gold, and the U.S. had lots of gold. The quandary was that the United States could issue all the paper it wanted to—and the world must count it as gold and did so count it until, by 1957, what had been a world scarcity of monetary reserve assets transformed into a glut of dollars. Then the gold began to drain out of the United States. The identity in law between the dollar and gold ceased to be an identity in reality.

What caused this? Direct overseas military expenditures of the United States—excluding the domestic costs of the Korean War—totaled $20.6 billion during 1946-57, and every penny of these expenditures abroad was translatable into francs, lira, sterling, westmarks, yen, etc. Because the dollar, like gold, was a world monetary reserve asset, its overseas expenditure had two simultaneous effects: one, it was immediately used by the U.S. military for the purchase of goods and services in foreign countries; two, it affected these purchases of goods and services overseas by exchanging itself into foreign currencies, increasing the money in circulation in those lands without a corresponding increase in their output of consumer goods.

In fact, as these paper dollars gravitated towards foreign central and private banks, they served to finance foreign purchases of U.S. exports. During 1953-57, this showed up as follows: U.S. exports had been $12.4 billion in 1953; $12.9 billion, 1954; $14.4 billion, 1955; $17.6 billion, 1956; $19.6 billion, 1957. The excess of exports over imports was: $1.4 billion, 1953; $2.6 billion, 1954; $2.9 billion, 1955; $4.8 billion, 1956; $6.3 billion, 1957.

The United States, in short, was financing both its direct overseas military expenditures and its growing annual surplus on international trade account by printing at home—and issuing abroad—paper dollars legally considered equivalent to gold. The effect upon the U.S. Treasury stock of gold was at first zero. In 1953 (at $35 per troy ounce) the U.S. gold reserve had been $22 billion; in 1954, $21.7 billion. By 1957 it had actually increased to $22.8 billion. Then the bubble burst. A gold drain began because foreigners not only began to mistrust the dollar but had grown to recognize that the legal identity between the dollar and gold was a legal fiction. Dollars could be printed faster than gold could be dug—and were so printed.

The 1953-1957 period and its events are not easy to understand. There was no visible free inflow into the United States. In this sense it was not a time of affluence. Yet the effects were as though affluence were still a fact. And this contradiction is crucial to what followed, and to what is happening to the U.S. today.

By 1958, foreign bankers and business interests had had enough of this flawed money game. If the dollar is equal to gold, they reasoned, the U.S. cannot object if we treat it as such. They began to exchange the dollars which the U.S. was dumping overseas —as direct military expenditures—for gold out of the U.S. gold reserve. In addition, there was a legal requirement

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within the U.S. that the quantity of dollars in circulation could not exceed a given proportion of the U.S. Treasury gold reserve. And two things began to complicate matters: as foreigners drew down gold ($7.4 billion outflow during 1957-64), the absolute gold cover began to shrink, and as currency in circulation in the U.S. increased, the relative shrinkage accelerated. As these intercepting trends expressed themselves, the gold drain to foreign countries gathered force partly because of fear that—at close to the legally required gold cover—gold payments by the United States might be suspended.

No genius was required to foresee the trouble that lay ahead. The quasi-affluence was inverting itself. This time, foreigners were demanding—and getting—gold from the U.S. The rules were changed when, in 1964, gold speculation against the dollar accelerated because the value of the U.S. gold stock at $35 per troy ounce fell below foreign official short-term claims.

One of two things then became necessary: either the U.S. Federal Reserve must become the sole central bank for the world, and the dollar the sole world currency; or foreign central banks must agree to deter draw-downs from the U.S. gold stock.

It was too late for the first to happen, although the Federal Reserve had been very close to being the western world's one central bank at Bretton Wood's initiation. The second was possible. The six active members of London's Gold Pool agreed with the United States not to buy or sell gold—including newly mined gold—except at $35 a troy ounce, and not to buy or sell gold at any price except among central banks. But by this time, gold was selling at $41 per troy ounce in non-official markets, preventing conversion of newly-mined gold into world monetary assets. The identity between the dollar and gold lost its appearance of reality and, plain for all to see, was exposed for the fiction it had been from the start.

The agreement did not stop the gold drain. $1.7 billion of gold leaked out of the U.S. in 1965, and the efflux continued until 1971, when the U.S. embargoed all gold payments—even to foreign central banks.

What is hidden in this narration is the clear indication that the events of 1964, when exchange of monetary gold became prohibited except among central banks, were actually in preparation for the coming war in Vietnam. Decision had already been reached by the U.S. to invade Southeast Asia.

The United States, however, had not forgotten the panic flight of gold to this country under Europe's and Asia's war threats of the Thirties. Because—in Germany, France, Switzerland, and other countries—personal holding of gold was legal, there was nothing to prevent private foreigners from exchanging their own currencies (or dollars) for gold at their banks, compelling their central banks to draw down gold from the United States in truly massive amounts. This, in fact, was probable. Had it occurred it would have injured the domestic credit of the United States once at war—even an undeclared war. This would have compelled the U.S. to finance the Vietnam War out of taxation, a politically intolerable act requiring direct impoverishment of the American people.

One is compelled to conclude that the 1964 agreement to exchange gold only among central banks, and only at $35 per troy ounce, was an active participation of the international banking community in the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. But, just as the United States was afraid—or unwilling—to pay for its war in cash by taxing *its* citizens, so the foreign central banks were afraid—or unwilling—to forbid private ownership of gold by *their* citizens.

As a result, although gold was exchanged only among central banks in international transactions, gold threatened to drain out of foreign central banks and treasuries as foreign citizens—and U.S. multinational corporations—began to fear the economic consequences of the Vietnam War. Gold continued to move out of the United States. The U.S. gold stock fell from $15.4 billion in 1964 to $10.4 billion in 1968, about 57 percent below what it had been in 1950; money in circulation in the U.S. rose from $27.2 billion to $47.6 billion in those same years—and to $58.4 billion in 1971.

Therefore, in 1971, the U.S. was compelled to embargo gold payments altogether to foreign central banks as well as to all others. The dollar, however, continued to be the nominal central reserve currency of the inter-

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national monetary system and—with the embargo on gold settlements—the U.S. no longer feared the effects upon its gold stock of a vast over-issue of dollars and equivalents in world money markets. There followed a *deliberate* over-issuing of U.S. obligations abroad—official and unofficial—until, unable to endure this any longer, Europe in 1973 closed its foreign exchange windows and compelled the dollar to float vis-a-vis other currencies, abandoning the dollar as the world's ultimate reserve currency.

In 1964, U.S. liabilities to foreign official institutions had been about $15.8 billion; by 1970, they had grown to $23.8 billion and, in 1971, soared to almost $51 billion, not only causing the U.S. to embargo gold payments but compelling foreign nations to pay much of the cost of the war in Vietnam.

With gold payments embargoed, the U.S. was emboldened to force still more dollars upon foreigners. After all, they no longer represented claims on gold and were, therefore, no danger to U.S. domestic solvency. By the end of 1972, total U.S. liabilities to foreigners approached $83 billion, and rose to above $90 billion in 1973 until, in March of that year, Europe closed its foreign exchange windows against this paper dollar inflow.

By June of 1974 all U.S. liabilities to foreigners had grown to $104 billion, of which $70 billion was to official institutions (unchanged from 1973), $34 billion to non-official foreigners including foreign branches and affiliates of U.S. parent banks.

What the U.S. had been exporting was inflation. Prices abroad were forced upwards by the enforced increase in the foreign money supply, increasing the competitiveness of U.S. products in foreign markets. This was an artifice, a deliberate attempt to create a simulacrum of affluence when affluence itself had ceased.

[A RITE OF PASSAGE]

U.S. affluence came absolutely to an end on March 1, 1973, when Europe compelled the dollar to float. There was no longer a pretense that the dollar was the world's one reserve currency. Thereafter, uninterrupted inflows of paper dollars into Europe could no longer finance U.S. wars nor subsidize the U.S. cost of living. The U.S. was on its own. Affluence was over.

The oil embargo of 1974 signalled this officially. Henceforth, with petroleum import prices quadrupled, the U.S. would have to pay for its place in the world by increasing the physical proportion of its output going to overseas sales, and by redesigning its product mix to meet the needs of other peoples rather than exclusively its own. The United States is now in the position in which England found itself 60 years earlier.

This is the new and permanent quality of the American economy. It need not necessarily imply poverty for the people of the United States. It will do so—as it did for England—unless the U.S. accepts the new facts, and adjusts to them, which England failed to do.

It does impose limits upon industrial growth in this country—limits to which the American people are not accustomed and to which it will not be easy for them to become accustomed. For, coincident with the possible cessation of U.S. internal expansion, vast expansion is in the planning in countries overseas. The *absolute* position of the U.S. in the world economy may remain static (though this seems improbable); the *relative* position cannot but decline.

Leaving the communist countries out of account because we have as yet no clear idea as to their real planned expansion in relation to their own and other countries' physical resources, sufficient is known of the expansion plans of other areas of the world to give some inkling of the future. Rapidly developing countries, recently backward, can be expected over the next 15-20 years to achieve an annual capacity to produce over 50 million tons of steel. Longer-range probabilities (including Brazil, Australia, Venezuela, and Asian countries) appear to suggest that the 15-20 year goal of now-developing nations may total a steel-making capacity of more than 100 million annual tons, with all that this implies for other social and economic developments overseas.

Treating these plans not merely as numbers but as social indicators—and

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whatever their margin of error proves to be as events unfold—one simple conclusion can be drawn, and it is inescapable. The raw materials crunch which the advanced countries, including the U.S., are now experiencing will tend to increase, perhaps enormously, as demand for them increases in rapidly developing countries.

It is not petroleum alone that is at question but resources of all descriptions: cement, food, lumber, energy, capital equipment, metals and their ores, consumer items. The list is endless. And what the list indicates is that petroleum and other minerals needed to be imported by the United States will be available to it as to other now advanced countries only on the basis of a strict *quid pro quo*. They will not be able to be bought with dollar (nor with sterling, francs, marks, etc.) except with guarantees of the exchangeability of these currencies into reasonably fixed quantities of specified products required in defined time by producers of basic materials.

The wheat-cloth ratio of the textbooks has become laughable. Orthodox theorizing over international trade assumes that the invisible hand of classical economic analysis is still at work. It is not. The invisible hand has been amputated.

Need Americans despair? Only if they remain unacquainted with new reality. There is no law of nature which requires that the U.S. economy grow endlessly, or at past rates, nor that increase in gadgetry is requisite to human happiness and welfare.

There is, however, an institutional arrangement which functions as though such a law of nature operates. That arrangement is the corporate structure of America, about which there are many illusions. Among them is the popular impression that corporate executives and key personnel are malevolent creatures, conscienceless and devious, acutely aware that they are engaged in willful theft from the people. Some, of course, are of this character. Most are not. They are harried men driven by the *necessity* of each individual corporation to expand —to exercise management skills in an atmosphere constantly threatening their personal security. They *must* succeed—or go. They *must* rise in the hierarchy or be pushed aside. And events are beyond their control. As persons, today they are failures because the corporate structure is fragile and incapable of containing the explosive social forces at work.

This is no plea for pity for these men. Rather, it is an assertion that, by training and direction, they are not capable of giving guidance in the future we are entering. Their skills are effective only in the environment of a dead past. The corporations themselves, because their interests are separate and must be pursued separately in a period when a common interest is paramount, are structural impediments to the transition which the United States must make. The necessary self-seeking of the corporate entities is compelled upon them by their indebtedness, their individual need to penetrate and expand in markets which are dwindling, and by the legal requirement that they preserve the integrity of their separate capitals in a time when all capital is jeopardized.

The question is one of structure, hence of politics. Problems incapable of solution in bits and pieces cannot be solved by corporations because that is what corporations are: bits and pieces, however large; fragments in a society which itself is fragmenting with the end of affluence and as the need for unified action grows overwhelming.

This observation carries with it a further one, namely, that the people are themselves responsible for the present state of things and—themselves collectively—must undertake their correction. What is going to be required of the American people is acceptance of a social responsibility beyond anything before demanded of them. Every thinking man and woman must undertake examination not only of what sort of America he or she wishes to emerge from the present morass but of what must be yielded so that the passage to the future will be as smooth as human effort can ensure.

At base, the fundamental requirement is recognition that yesterday is gone forever, that tomorrow will be what we make of it, within limits perhaps as constricting as those which our forbears strove to escape in founding and building this country.

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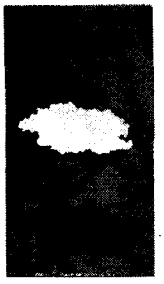

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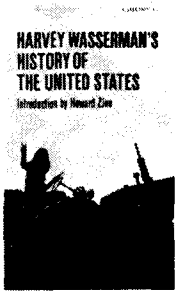

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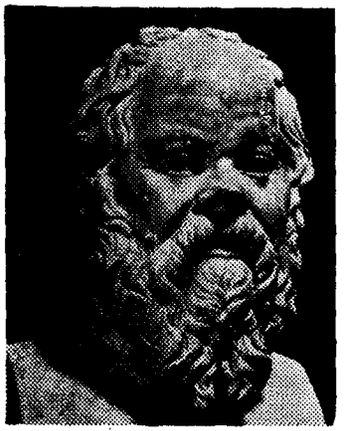

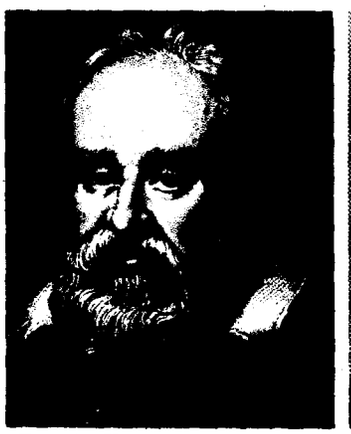

Today There Is a Way to Help Free Political Prisoners

The Bettmann Archive

Bob Fitch

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

SOCRATES, Jesus, Galileo, Martin Luther, Gandhi and Martin Luther King were only a handful of the most notable political prisoners of the past. Right now throughout the world, there are hundreds of thousands of men and women like them; prisoners whose only crime is who they are or what they think and say. Amnesty International calls them 'prisoners of conscience' and works for their freedom. During the last twelve years we have been successful in more than 7,500 cases. But the work has only begun and we need your help.

TODAY GOVERNMENTS of every political persuasion are in the habit of declaring people with whom they disagree, "criminal" or "insane" and then having them imprisoned, tortured or killed.

Regimes have no right to squelch dissent in order to keep themselves in office but they do have the power. Throughout history they have exercised that power freely and will continue to do so until world opinion is sufficiently aroused to stop them.

LETTING THE JAILER-GOVERNMENT KNOW SOMEONE IS WATCHING

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is a world-wide non-partisan human rights movement having consultive status with the United Nations, UNESCO, OAS and the Council of Europe.

The way it works is surprisingly simple. Teams of individuals, like you, write letters to high officials of the jailer-governments. The teams publicize the cases, enlist the aid of influential people and visit the embassies and consulates concerned. They petition officials directly if traveling in those countries where their prisoners are held. The teams also regularly correspond with the prisoners and sometimes offer assistance to their families.

In short, Amnesty International demonstrates forcefully and continually to the prisoners and their governments that no one will be forgotten, and that injustice, mass arrests, mock trials and torture will never be tolerated.

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE:

"Persons who are imprisoned for expressing their religious or political beliefs or because of their ethnic origins, provided they have not used nor advocated the use of violence." Thousands of these "prisoners of conscience" are being held by the governments of Brazil, South Africa, Czechoslovakia and Pakistan. Thousands more are imprisoned in South Vietnam, Greece, the U.S.S.R. and Indonesia. These are only a few of the offending countries.

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Amnesty International has recently launched an all-out campaign to abolish torture. The world cannot call itself civilized until we have made it

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LETTERS

(From page 8)

contract. The new contract was negotiated with four Gallo farmworkers (all ex-UFW members) as part of the Teamsters negotiating committee.

The contract signed on July 10, 1973, made Gallo farmworkers the highest paid in the continental United States, with provision for annual increases under built-in escalation clauses. Gallo farmworkers are now paid a minimum of $2.89 per hour and range up to $3.75 per hour. During harvest, pickers earned an average of $5.79 per hour . . . some as much as $9.00 per hour. Plus fringe benefits: paid pension plan, paid vacation, paid holidays, premium paid overtime, paid health insurance, including major medical for farmworkers' dependents, paid life insurance, and paid unemployment insurance.

There are 2.3 million farmworkers in the United States. Only 70,000 of them are unionized. There are more than 130,000 non-union farmworkers in California alone.

Instead of organizing this vast *non-union* farmworker population, instead of concentrating on improving their union administration, instead of supporting legislation that will bring farmworkers basic protection under the National Labor Relations Act, the United Farmworkers and their supporters have chosen to embark on a nationwide boycott of a *union* winery.

Through coercive tactics, UFW supporters are attempting to blackmail retailers into removing union made wine from store shelves. The UFW, therefore, is guilty of a form of hateful prior censorship abridging the rights of both retailers and the public from expressing an opinion (for or against) by buying or not buying the product. Prior censorship in any form cannot be condoned, be it by self-appointed censors of books, motion pictures, union made wine, or Presidential tapes.

A UFW boycott once forced a group of non-union California table grape growers to deliver their workers over to the UFW. Today, however, a UFW boycott cannot force the Gallo farmworkers from one union into another. Gallo has a legally and morally binding contract with the Teamsters. Therefore, the UFW boycott and coercive tactics can serve no useful purpose. It only provides a propaganda platform which accomplishes nothing for 2.3 million American farmworkers.

We urge the readers of *Ramparts* to join with us in supporting legislation that will bring America's millions of farmworkers the rights and protection of the National Labor Relations Act. NLRA legislation will guarantee free, impartially supervised, secret ballot elections for all farmworkers, supervised by an experienced and impartial government agency. Senate Bill S3409 and House of Representatives Bill HR 4408 will accomplish this. We urge that you write your Congressman and Senator in support of this legislation.

Much remains to be done for farmworkers throughout the country. Let's get on with it.

Daniel J. Solomon
Communications Director
E&J Gallo Winery
Modesto, Calif.

Editors Note:

For a more complete account of the controversy—UFW v. Teamsters, Gallo, et al.—*see pages 10-20.*

[ZOLA]

Editors:

An international group of researchers is currently preparing an edition of the collected correspondence of Emile Zola and would greatly appreciate hearing from anyone who either possesses or knows of autograph (original) letters by or to Emile Zola. Any information can be sent to Professor Henri Mitterand, Zola Program, Roberts Library, 14th floor, University of Toronto, Toronto 181, Canada.

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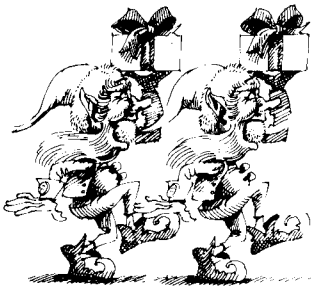

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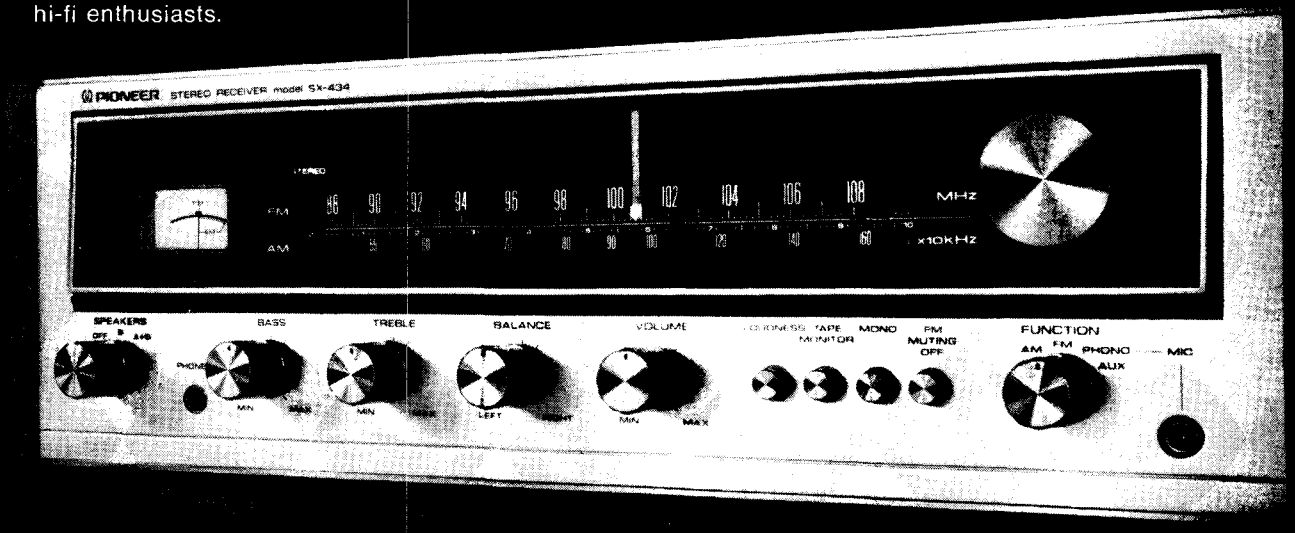

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